Daily Report

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Alia Begins 'Physical Rehabilitation'

AU0601154292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Statement issued by a "medical team" in Tirana on 6 January]

[Text] The general clinical state of President Ramiz Alia is good. The course of his illness throughout the recent period has been normal and without complications. The most recent electrocardiographic recordings are stable. Laboratory tests have reverted to normal. On the basis of these clinical and laboratory data, the president's physical rehabilitation began today.

Expresses Thanks for Concern

AU0601154492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The representative of the Press and Information Office of the President of the Republic reported to an ATA correspondent today that there has been widespread interest in President Ramiz Alia's state of health among citizens, friends, wellwishers, deputies, members of the government, local government officials, party leaders, distinguished intellectuals, etc.

Many telegrams and telephone calls have been received from Albanians living in Switzerland, the United States, Turkey, and elsewhere. Turkish President Turgut Ozal and ambassadors and diplomats accredited to Tirana from various countries such as France, Germany, Russia, Libya, Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, etc. have shown interest.

President Alia, having been informed of this, thanks all those who have shown concern and taken a kind interest in his health in recent days.

CIS Republics Recognized as Independent States

AU0601195692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Statement issued by the Government of the Republic of Albania in Tirana on 4 January]

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Albania, on the basis of the recent changes in the former Soviet Union that resulted in the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and the announcement that the Soviet Union has ceased to exist as an entity in international law and a geopolitical reality, and out of a desire to conduct normal state relations with the member-states of the Commonwealth in the common interests of the peoples of our states and of peace and security in the Balkans, Europe, and the world, has decided to recognize the member-states of the Commonwealth as independent states and to establish and develop regular diplomatic relations with them at an ambassadorial level. The Embassy of the Republic of Albania to the former Soviet Union in Moscow will act as the Albanian Embassy to the Russian Federation.

Human Rights Delegation Visits SFRY

AU3012153691 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 30 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Democratic Forum of Human Rights centred in Gostivar, a delegation of Albania's Human Rights' Forum headed by Prof. Arben Puto visited Macedonia and Kosovo from December 18 to 25. During a week stay the delegation met and had talks with the Presidency of the Democratic Forum in Gostivar and with its branches in Tetovo, Kumanovo, Debar, Struga.

The delegation, one of its reports says further on, availed itself of the opportunity to establish a first contact with the Human Rights Defence Council in Pristina, as well as with the Helsinki Kosovar Committee in the same city.

Thanks to the meetings and talks the forum delegation got acquainted with the grave violations in the field of human rights in the territories inhabited by the Albanian population. The Albanians are severely attacked in such vital spheres of activity as employment, education and information. As a result of such a situation, a three million population is a victim of a genuine apartheid raised in law and implemented with severity by the state apparatus of violence. At the same time the delegation noticed the unflinching determination of the various strata of the Albanian population to affirm their elementary rights, as well as their willingness for a calm and normal coexistence with the Slav population on equal bases.

On this occasion the representatives of four organisations aired the desire and readiness to coordinate their activity to make more sensible the all-Albanian public opinion, as well as the international one to put an end to these unacceptable violations which run counter to the international acts related to human rights. As a first step of cooperation the Pristina meeting decided to issue a joint declaration to denounce the practice of hindering the free circulation of Albanian citizens on both sides of the border. The declaration was published in our press and was broadcast in radio and TV.

The representatives of the aforesaid four organisations, the report says, left with the desire and commitment to meet regularly and join their efforts for the observation of the rights of the Albanians.

French Medical Aid Shipment Looted in Tirana

AU2912201491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] The French newspaper LE MONDE writes that a truck loaded with 30 tonnes of medicines, clothes, and children's toys sent by the Doctors Without Borders organization arrived in Tirana. Its unloading started at

0800 [0700 GMT] at the public organization responsible for distributing medicines in Albania. One hundred people, including many of the organization's officials, immediately attacked the truck and looted it. (?Serge Barbere), a Pharmacists Without Borders worker at present in Tirana, explained that he and his colleagues tried for two hours to prevent them and save the medicine. This case is not an isolated one, and all those responsible for humanitarian aid in Albania have experienced such scenes of looting.

(?Aldi Giacotta), a volunteer worker for the U.S. charity Feed the Children, has said that it has been calculated that 50 tonnes of the organization's supplies have been stolen since June. In most cases, warehouses storing the aid have been attacked, sometimes with tragic consequences as in Fushe Arrez, where 38 people died.

However, looting is increasingly occurring directly from the trucks. The trucks are held up for some reason or by roadblocks of planks or stones and are then surrounded by crowds of dozens or perhaps hundreds of people, who board the trucks.

Is this looting carried out by organized bands, or is it mainly spontaneous? Foreign observers in Tirana support the latter theory. People no longer believe their leaders, who have lied to them for many years, and still less do they heed those in charge of the warehouses, because they live in wretched conditions and do not want to wait for organized distribution. In many cases, it seems that this looting is more organized than improvised. The question that all those responsible for aid are asking today is very simple: How can such surges of people be prevented? The police are few in number and are inexperienced in controlling angry crowds, who call them communists whenever they intervene. The Army is scattered throughout the country, and servicemen are disillusioned and unfortunately poorly paid.

This looting does not discourage charity workers, who are continuing their mission, doing what they can, and improvising solutions. For instance, the Pharmacists Without Borders workers want to distribute the medicines they bring directly to the hospitals, regardless of the wishes of the Tirana authorities. They have had the words Danger, Medicine inscribed on their trucks.

Treatment of Albanians in Greece Deplored

AU0601135792 Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT 6 Jan 92

["Why Does Albanian Orthodox Church Keep Silent?"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 6 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper "DRITA" carries a writing by Bardhyl Londo, which says among the other things:

Thousands of Albanians are jailed and maltreated in Greece with similar methods as those applied in the middle ages. The Albanian Orthodox Church keeps silent. Dirty and ominous leaflets are distributed in southern Albania by the thirsty fascists of North Epirotes with the blessing of the Hellenic Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church keeps silent. In case you are really God's home, you should not keep silent, in case you are devil's home, then mind your affair, the author underlines.

For a wonder, officials and politicians have declared that X Greek leader is Albania's friend, that Albania's road to Europe passes through Greece, etc. Are you naive, messieurs politicians, or... You forgot that Mitsotakis is the first and only Greek prime minister over the last 20 years who openly supported and put the North Epirotes under the government protection. You forgot that Papandreou played "the Albania card" when he was in power only to win again in elections.

Greek territory is being watered with Albanian blood. The shrieks of Albanian boyhood are stabbing the Ionian and Aegean. And for a wonder no one is reminding the Greek chauvinistic craziness of the fact that the Albanian blood was shed for the independence of Greece, that after the World War II thousands upon thousands of Greeks together with their children and herds traversed Albania and no-one asked from them a visa, no-one ousted and maltreated them. The signs of villages erected by them are still preserved to this day in south Albania. How is it possible for the Albanian Orthodox Church to keep silent at a time when it should raise its voice in case such things would happen even in Honolulu, it should not keep silent when such things happen in Albania's border, the author of the article says in conclusion.

Former Deputy Interior Minister Found Dead

AU0601151892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Our correspondent in Pazardzhik, Radka Mileva, has just reported that the body of Reserve Forces Lieutenant General Stoyan Savov, former deputy minister of internal affairs, has been found this morning in Lisichevo in front of the monument to the partisans of the Georgi Benkovski unit. An operational group from the Regional Directorate of the police in Pazardzhik has been sent to the scene.

Minister Savov's Past Detailed

AU0601205892 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, Jan 6 (AFP)—Former Bulgarian Deputy Interior Minister Stoyan Savov, implicated in an alleged cover-up of the 1978 murder in London of dissident writer Georgy Markov by poison-tipped umbrella, was found dead Monday, the Interior Ministry said. Savov, a former general, and another ex-general, Vladko Todorov, the former head of Bulgaria's intelligence agency, had been scheduled to go on trial here on Wednesday on charges of abuse of power.

Nikolay Nikolaev, an Interior Ministry spokesman, said Savov was found dead Monday in front of a memorial to the anti-fascist resistance in his hometown of Lisichevo, southern Bulgaria. He said an Interior Ministry team had been sent to Lisichevo to conduct an investigation into the death.

Todorov, the former chief of the Bulgarian intelligence service, has said that he destroyed all documents related to the Markov case in 1990, judging them to be of "no interest." Todorov said he had received the files on the case from Savov, who told an investigative panel that he had not given the order to destroy the material.

Oleg Kalugin, a former major general in the Soviet KGB, had been expected to appear as a witness in the upcoming trial, the union newspaper TRUD reported Monday. Kalugin said last year that Bulgaria's former Communist leader Todor Zhivkov had demanded the assistance of the KGB in killing Markov, who died after being stabbed in the leg with an umbrella while waiting for a bus. Coroners retrieved a poison pellet from his body.

The Bulgarian authorities opened an investigation into the murder in February. The probe is still going on. Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov said recently that Markov was "most probably murdered by the Bulgarian secret service with KGB help."

Ukraine Pledges To Continue Power Supply

AU0401213092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Advisers of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov have reportedly conducted a telephone conversation with advisers of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk today. The Ukrainian side has reportedly promised that the electric power supply for Bulgaria would not be discontinued for the time being at least.

An exchange of telegrams that should mark the beginning of bilateral negotiations for the signing of a new agreement on power supply is expected tomorrow.

Stoyan Ganev Meets Turkish Delegation

AU0701105292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] On 7 January Stoyan Ganev, minister of foreign affairs, received a delegation of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led by (Yilgin Oman), deputy minister of sociopolitical issues. The establishment of mechanisms related to developing greater dynamics in bilateral relations was discussed. International issues and the situation in the Balkans were reviewed.

The Bulgarian delegation for the consultations is led by Stefan Gabrov, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

On 8 January the delegation of the Turkish Foreign Ministry will be received by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

Stoyan Ganev Previews Syria, Italy, U.S. Visits

AU0601134192 Sofia BTA in English 1301 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 6 (BTA)—Tomorrow Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, will leave on an official visit to Syria.

Today, at his first press conference after he took office two months ago, he spoke of his schedule for this month.

He pointed out that Bulgaria will pursue an active foreign policy, aimed at seeking the optimum possibilities for promoting Bulgaria's relations with all other states.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev is to visit Italy January 9-11 and will probably sign a Bulgarian-Italian treaty for friendship. Then he will visit Germany and Switzerland. During these three visits he will be carrying "a trunkful of copies of the Foreign Investments Act." During his visit to Switzerland he is expected to sign a declaration on Bulgarian-Swiss relations. He believes that the Bulgarian-French Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation will be ready by mid-February.

At the invitation of Mr. James Baker, Mr. Ganev will visit Washington with a delegation of experts to attend an international conference on the participation of countries like Bulgaria in the process of providing assistance for the former Soviet Union.

Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev is to take part in a meeting in Davos where he will have talks with many of

his counterparts. He is also to attend a meeting of the foreign ministers of the CSCE states in Prague.

Dimitrov Said 'Concerned' With Army Action

AU0601134392 Sofia BTA in English 1121 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 6 (BTA)—Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov is expected to address the nation today on the state of national security.

"The premier is concerned over the hasty actions in the Army and the Interior Ministry services," writes today's "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" and adds that the dismissals in the national security structures are expected to meet with protests.

Officers and employees of the Army, the Ministry of the Interior, the Security Services and the Fire Services will probably rally in front of the office of the president on January 10 to protest against the series of dismissals. The daily says that the protesters will converge from all over the country, riding in trucks, buses and fire engines.

According to "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK," no tanks and APCs are likely to appear. However, when it first reported the forthcoming changes in the Army and the Police, the Socialists "DUMA" wrote: "The Army takes to the streets in two cases: for a parade or for a coup." today's "TRUD" carries two opinions on the matter. One author believes that the Army should not be vexed, and the other recalls that the Bulgarian Armed Forces hold a record of overmanning.

The chief of the General Staff Lieutenant General Lyuben Petrov said that 750 officers and 10 generals were pensioned by a defence minister's order dated December 29, 1991. General Petrov specified that the commands of the combat units and the military schools will not be changed until the end of the training year.

Dismissals in the Ministry of the Interior totalled 65 at the end of last year, and this figure includes 58 scheduled retirements, Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov said. Defence Minister Ludzhev and Interior Minister Sokolov motivate the dismissals saying that personnel changes are only natural when these state institutions change their purposes and tasks.

Until a year ago, officers serving in the Army and the Security Services were required to be members of the ex-Communist Party. Those institutions were depoliticized in 1990, and the Union of Democratic Forces government started reforming them.

Legislature To Consider Debt Reduction Measures

AU0601192292 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 6 (BTA)—The cabinet intends to submit to parliament a draft of a long-term framework agreement with the creditor banks including steps for a substantial reduction in Bulgaria's foreign debt and its rescheduling taking into account Bulgaria's capacities, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov announced. In his address to the nation broadcast on radio and television this evening, he emphasized the country's grave economic condition and singled out the foreign debt problem as one of the cabinet's top priorities.

"We found out that Bulgaria's communist governments have caused a much greater catastrophe than we had expected," Mr. Dimitrov said.

The prime minister said that the government is holding consultations on Bulgaria's association with the European Community and wants to sign an association agreement with the EC in the next few months. By the end of March Bulgaria will probably start participating in the work of the Council of Europe, which will mark the beginning of its lasting integration into the European structures. According to Mr. Dimitrov, efforts for the Europeanization of the Balkans and internal stability are indispensable to Bulgaria's Europeanization.

The prime minister stressed that the cabinet prioritizes the necessity to strengthen the Army, the police and the External Intelligence Service.

He elaborated on the actions the cabinet will take to strengthen the economy so as to guarantee a rule of law, order and peace in the country.

The major task in 1992 will be to relieve the state of the necessity to interfere in everything and especially in the economy, for which the government and parliament will take actions.

The cabinet is working out a package of statutory legislation concerning the amendments to the system of taxation and the profits tax, the establishment of health and social insurance funds and the introduction of VAT. Private producers will be granted partial concessions in March and April. The cabinet will rely on privatization, restitution and foreign investment for a turn in its economic policy.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov expressed the concern of the government over the growing criminality rate and the dangerous dimensions and new forms economic and financial crimes have acquired. He said that we should no longer pass over in silence the existence of a mafia which has succeeded in penetrating the structures of power, which is aspiring to gain political influence and which, according to the government, is maintaining contacts with international organizations. "There are large scale financial and exchange operations for laundering 'dirty' money and for transferring enormous sums abroad for unrealized transactions. The smuggling of weapons and strategic raw materials in and out of this country is also acquiring dramatic proportions. There are cases of a purposeful leading of state and municipal companies to bankruptcy."

The government believes that the coming into force of the amendments to the Supreme Judicial Council Act would solve some of the problems. A bill on the amendment of the Interior Ministry Act has already been submitted in parliament and a reform in the structure of the Ministry of Justice is underway. The government also intends to take other radical measures such as strengthening the control over arms transactions, the control of the National Bank of Bulgaria over the operations of the other commercial banks as well as control at the Customs Houses.

Bulgaria's prime minister stated that the priorities in the economic activities of the government will be related to the development of this country's natural resources: In tourism, communications and agriculture.

The government believes that the economically unjustified pretensions of the trade unions, provoking a race in the rise of wages would inevitably result in the slowing down of the reform and detonate the still fragile stabilization of the economy.

Finance Minister Kostov Discusses Foreign Debt

AU0601192092 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 6 (BTA)—Bulgaria is to enter the decisive stage of the negotiations on reaching an agreement with her creditor banks, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov told journalists today.

He said that recently the Deutsche Bank, which now chairs the Bank Advisory Committee of Bulgaria's creditor banks sent a second letter insisting on clear structures for the forthcoming negotiations.

At the end of last year, the government decided for closing down the Interagency Commission on Foreign Debt Management and for its functions to be taken over by a special department of the Ministry of Finance.

This month the Bulgarian Government will decide on Deutsche Bank's demands, Finance Minister Kostov said. He said that this country will be visited by a delegation of the Deutsche Bank soon.

At the end of last year the Bulgarian prime minister received a letter from Mr. Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Commission. It points out that a part of Bulgaria's foreign debt is to banks with Soviet capital in third countries. Since in 1991 Bulgaria had a surplus in its trade with the Soviet Union, Mr. Ivan Silayev insisted on the use of this surplus to pay off a part of the debt to these banks.

It is impossible for Bulgaria to fulfill this request because she has imposed a moratorium on her debt payments, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov said. If we fulfill this request this would establish a dangerous precedent because our other creditor banks would not admit to be treated in a different way.

The finance minister added that the sums which the Soviet Union owes to Bulgaria are much larger than Bulgaria's debt to the former Soviet Union.

Mr. Ivan Kostov said that the government is expecting a mandate from parliament in order to start negotiations on the granting to Bulgaria of a 100 million dollar loan by Japan and of another 100 million dollar loan by the advanced European states.

Council of Ministers Adopts Economic Measures

AU0601205292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] On 6 January a meeting of the Council of Ministers took place. The cabinet heard and adopted in principle the detailed information supplied by the ministers of labor, social welfare, and finance related to improving social security and pensions.

In February a one-time additional amount of 200 leva will be added to all pensions.

The Council of Ministers decided to give temporary financial assistance to eight companies and commercial associations, which export special products, in order to allow them to pay the wages of their employees for the months of September to December 1991.

The government also adopted a decree on amending the Code on Applying Decree No. 56 of the Council of Ministers. It aims at preserving the preference of citizens' collective companies by exempting them from taxes on their profits in 1991.

New Problem With Kozloduy Fifth Reactor

AU0601125092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] A new fault was found in the fifth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant, which has shut down for a continuous repair and which was supposed to be activated today.

This time the fault was in the installations' insulation. According to engineer Kiril Nikolov, general director of the Nuclear Power Supply Trust, there is no danger of nuclear contamination. It is expected that the fault will be eliminated within three days, after which the reactor will gradually be activated and his 1,000 megawatt capacity will join the country's power supply system. This was reported by our correspondent Veselin Angelov.

DPS Movement Supports Zhelev in Elections

AU0401192092 Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—"If I was to start everything from the beginning now I would be more persevering in my efforts to affiliate the Movement for Rights

and Freedoms to the structures of the Union of Democratic Forces. I would be more persistent in my efforts to explain to the entire Bulgarian public that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms is not an organization formed on an ethnic and religious basis," Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), told a press conference today on the occasion of the second anniversary of the foundation of the movement. The DPS has 95,000 members, 8 per cent of which are Bulgarians.

In the declaration of the Central Council of the DPS read today it was pointed out that the DPS will support Dr. Zhelev in the forthcoming presidential elections.

The DPS has drafted a bill on banning the Socialist, ex-Communist, Party (BSP) but it will not hurry to submit it in parliament, fearing that the passing of such an act may consolidate the BSP.

The DPS does not support the general strike scheduled by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions for January 8.

The leadership of the DPS is satisfied with the decision of the Council of Ministers to introduce mother tongue classes at the Bulgarian schools. About 70,000 Turkish language text books have already been published.

The leadership of the BSP [as received] is taking steps for the restoration of Turkish language broadcasts on the Bulgarian Radio, of the Turkish theatres, of amateur Turkish folk ensembles and the publication of books in Turkish. It has established contacts with high-ranking representatives of the Bulgarian Television to discuss the starting of Turkish language broadcasts on a separate channel.

Trade Union Issues Statement on Dismissals

AU0601153092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] We received a statement of the Executive Committee of the Independent Trade Union Organization of the Bulgarian Police, signed by its chairman, and addressed to the president, the prime minister, the chairman of the National Assembly National Security Commission, and the minister of internal affairs.

The document points out that the New Year has begun with mass dismissals at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Incompetence is the reason most frequently cited for the dismissals. Most of those who have been dismissed belonged to the National Police. Today, one week before the first free presidential election in Bulgaria, the country is deprived of leadership in some of the most important areas—the services in charge of securing internal peace, public order, and the struggle against crime, the statement reads.

The Independent Trade Union Organization of the Police, together with its colleagues from other branches of the Federation of Independent Trade Union Organizations in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, insisted at the end of 1991 on holding meetings and exchanging information with the ministry leadership on the issue of dismissals and many other important personnel issues. They do not accept the explanations, which they received on 3 January after considerable effort by Colonel Donev, chief secretary of the ministry, and on 4 January from Minister Sokolov, because of the contradictions in the explanations and because they did not satisfactorily answer the main question—what is the reason for the dismissals?

Also, it remains unclear who will replace the dismissed employees.

The document insists on receiving full and objective information on the number of dismissed employees, the reasons for the dismissal of police employees, and reinstatement of those employees who have been illegally dismissed. Disagreement is expressed with the manner in which the amendments to the Law on the Ministry of Internal Affairs are prepared, and a protest is expressed against the intention to remove from the law the possibility of contesting the dismissals in court and eliminating the competition principle in appointing and professionally promoting cadres. In addition, a protest is lodged against the Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership's ignoring the police trade union in resolving those exceptionally important professional and trade union problems.

The document declares that until objective information and replies to the questions presented have been received, the police trade union professional organizations and sections are prepared for reciprocal legal action.

KNSB Session Ends; Petkov Announces Results

AU0401213892 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] At today's session the Confederative Council of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] discussed a report on the preparation of a nationwide warning strike scheduled for 8 January 1992. After the end of the session, our reporter Petur Donchev interviewed KNSB Chairman Prof. Krustyu Petkov, who made the following statement:

The strike will take place, but emphasis will be laid on the one-hour effective action. A total of 600 enterprises in the country will be on strike for one hour, during one shift, while the others will work.

It appeared from the KNSB session that the members of the artists'unions, the workers in the tourist sector, and perhaps those in the health sector will not participate in the strike, even more so since the chairman of their trade union, Dr. Subev, deliberately or not, abstained from attending the session of the Confederative Council.

Dr. Krustyu Petkov declared to our reporter that no warning signal has been given so far about the three great groups of discontented citizens, namely the pensioners, the unemployed, and the numerous people who are expected to remain without jobs because of the hundreds of thousands of bankruptcies that inevitably threaten our country. I think that we are assisting the government and the presidency by showing them how to rule the country, Prof. Petkov added.

A draft document adopted at the session points out that the Confederative Council urges the workers on strike to observe the law in all their actions, not to yield to provocations, and to act in a civilized and responsible manner during the 8 January warning strike. The nationwide action is supported by 36 federations, unions, and trade unions, which are KNSB members, while over 1,350 trade union organizations will participate in it. Over 350,000 employees will be on strike.

The organization and financing of the KNSB extraordinary congress that is expected to be held on 22 and 23 February in Pleven were discussed at the session.

KNSB Accused of Seeking Destabilization

AU0501194592 Sofia BTA in English 1826 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, January 5 (BTA)—There is one more week to go before the first direct presidential elections in Bulgaria. Next Sunday the Bulgarians will have to choose their president and vice president among the 22 candidate tandems.

The pretenders have made brief statements on the radio and television. Many of the candidates made campaign tours of the country. So far there have been no public debates between the presidential candidates. Only several platforms were published in the press.

According to a sociological survey published a week ago, the team of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) stands great chances of winning the elections at the first round. In order to do so it has to poll 50 percent of the vote. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev is the most popular politician in this country, according to a representative sociological survey. [passage omitted]

Not more than 20 people came to the campaign rally of the independent candidates Andon Donchev and Nikolay Shkutov in Razgrad.

Yet another candidate president tandem visited Razgrad today—Mr. George Ganchev and Mr. Petur Beron. The "leitmotif" of Mr. George Ganchev's campaign speeches is to make the presidential institution independent. Mr. Petur Beron, former leader of the SDS, declared himself against collective minority rights. Razgrad is one of the regions of compact Turkish population.

Mr. George Ganchev and Mr. Petur Beron also held a rally today in the Danubian city of Ruse. Mr. Ganchev promised the young people and the pensioners a bright future.

At a meeting with electors in Pleven (northern Bulgaria) presidential candidate Dimitur Markovski said that he is not aspiring to the presidential post. He wants to draw the attention of the people and of the leadership of the international cooperative movement and to win sympathizers for his party—the Independent Cooperative Party.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) has scheduled a general strike for January 8, four days before the elections. "With this strike the leaders of the KNSB are seeking to destabilize the situation in this country before the presidential elections," Mr. Oleg Chulev, vice president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, said today. He said that the KNSB strikers may provoke clashes and fights with Podkrepa members. "If there are riots certain political forces will say that the elections took place in an inadequate situation and will declare them invalid," Mr. Oleg Chulev believes.

Local Podkrepa Condemns Planned General Strike

AU0401171392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] In an address sent to BTA, a meeting of delegates representing the local Podkrepa organization at the Energoremont enterprise in Varna sharply condemns the general strike called for 8 January by the leadership of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB].

It is plain even to the most naive people, the address states, that in these exceptionally difficult days for our country, the national strike actions announced in this pompous manner will not only be of no help to anyone, the pensioners and unemployed least of all, but will make the government's work and the implementation of the reform even more difficult.

A declaration disseminated today by the coordinating council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the regional leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, and the municipal council in Dobrich severely condemns the KNSB's intention to hold a national warning strike on 8 January. The declaration states that such an act will have serious economic and political consequences for the country, especially on the eve of the presidential elections. The three institutions urge the citizens of Dobrudzha not to respond to the KNSB's call.

Klaus Examines 1992 Economic Prospects

LD0501041792 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Interview with Vaclav Klaus, federal vice prime minister and finance minister, by unidentified correspondent at the Federal 1 Television studios on 4 January—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] The first week of the new year is slowly coming to an end. It has been a week into which our transformed economy has moved with us. This is why I have invited Vaclav Klaus, vice prime minister and finance minister, into our studio.

Minister, the decline in industrial output by 30 percent and the roughly corresponding decline in the gross national product is part and parcel of the transformation of our economy. How long do you think this decline will last and when is improvement likely to occur?

[Klaus] I would like to say that 30 percent seems more than the reality. The gross national product did not decline by 30 percent. It declined by half that figure or even less. This is because industrial output, in particular construction activity, declined faster while services grew. We therefore envisage the gross domestic product to have declined in reality by between 12 and 14 percent. None of us derives any pleasure from this. We know that this is a necessary phenomenon in economic transformation, which is regretably strongly influenced by the loss of outlets in Eastern markets, especially in the Soviet Union, so that....

[Correspondent, interrupting] How do you view the possibility of our foreign trade finding outlets in eastern markets?

[Klaus] Eastern markets are an unknown phenomenon for us in the coming year. As we saw a short while ago in your newsreel about what is happening in the individual parts of the former Soviet Union, there are a lot of unknowns. The idea that our chances might improve in 1992 and that we will be able to sell to the former Soviet Union I really do not share. We will be terribly happy if the decline is not more marked than it has been up to now. We intend to go to Moscow soon for initial talks with Russia, but we cannot harbor any illusions.

[Correspondent] Minister, when we look back on the past year, the fact that we had almost zero inflation during the second half of the year is viewed very favorably abroad. Do you think that this state is final or can we expect the danger of an inflation spiral being set in motion?

[Klaus] Inflation will certainly not be at zero in 1992. Nonetheless, we anticipate inflation to be within the range of 13 to 15 percent, which means roughly in the region of 1 percent per month. This is substantially less than we heard a short while ago about Poland where inflation is anticipated to be at least 60 percent in 1992. Our inflation will not be at zero. Regrettably, inflation was not at zero during the past two months of last year either. After six months during which inflation was practically at zero, prices once again grew roughly by 1.5 percent annually. I believe that regarding inflation as a whole, as an inflational spiral, as a truly rapid further inflation, that danger has been exorcized. Nonetheless, we cannot shout too much about it, because if we give in to some unconsidered social demands, if we give in to wage demands—and we all are now witnessing the first attempt to unleash social unrest by traffic controllers—the idea that we could acceed to something like this, which would be followed immediately by similar attempts in other sections of our economy, would be very, very dangerous. Inflation could be set in rapid motion. Therefore, I fear that this first guinea pig in the form of traffic controllers that has been launched is a big challenge which we will either successfully resist or not.

[Correspondent] In order to prevent inflation, a macroeconomic policy, both financial and monetary, must function. Do you have information about what was the end result of state budgets for last year?

[Klaus] I have preliminary information, the first incomplete figures, but I would rather not give this now. Although these figures can err in particulars, they cannot in whole. I have to say that they constitute a big warning. This is because I believe that when we were wrestling with the budget for 1992 or rather with the approval of it, attention about how the budget for 1991 would end during the last month declined a great deal. I have to say that although the federal budget ended exactly as we forecast, the budgets of both republics worsened rapidly during the last days of last December. I say both republics in order to prevent any misunderstanding. I really do not wish to cite that figure at present, but it does not look good.

[Correspondent] My next question concerns coupon privatization. Around half a million people registered their coupon books by the end of 1991. The original estimate was that around 4 million people would take part in the coupon privatization. During the past few days there has been an increase in the interest in registration, but do you think it is possible to come closer to the figure of 4 millions by the final date, which is 30 January? How do you view coupon privatization?

[Klaus] Every day I receive on my table true figures about how many people have registered. To those who still remember grammar school mathematics, the curve of the growth of those registered is really not linear but exponential. This means that it is growing rapidly; therefore, I am not unduly concerned at present. What is beginning to bother me is whether individual registration centers will be able to cope with the flood of those who want to register, as has happened during the past few days. [passage omitted]

Economy Minister Dlouhy on Agricultural Policy

LD0601231592 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 2130 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Vladimir Dlouhy, the Federal minister of economy, met agricultural workers this afternoon. Miroslav Dittrich reports:

[Dittrich] Minister Dlouhy informed in detail the representatives of the workers at state farms, cooperatives, and private farmers about the agricultural programs of the Federal government and discussed their comments. When asked by journalists what the government sees as the strategic target of Czechoslovak agriculture, he said:

[Begin Dlouhy recording] The production of foodstuffs, of good quality, of accessible prices, of world standard, able to compete, under the conditions of the open market. It has been said that the concluded association agreements create conditions for the integration of the Czechoslovak agriculture into the European market within approximately 10 years. The government does not find it efficient to orientate itself toward the current agricultural policy of the EEC countries for which typically is a relatively nigh proportion of subsidies and the state [word indistinct]. We believe that this policy by the EC will go through significant changes. This however definitely does not mean that the government gives up a certain role in the regulation of the agricultural production. [end recording]

[Dittrich] What then would the agricultural policy of the government be? Minister Dlouhy said this:

[Begin Dlouhy recording] I would like to identify with the idea that what the Federal government has done was that apart from the activity of the Federal Fund of Market Regulation I pushed through practically immediately after the adoption of the budget the opportunity of starting a program that makes it possible to compensate for the attenuation, or where applicable, restructuring of agricultural productions, where it could be possible to draw up from funds up to 2.1 billion korunas and this despite the fact that we are in a situation of rather tense budgets. I think that basically this is not a negative step with regard to agricultural workers. On the other hand we believe that if we look at the CSFR as a unified market for agricultural products, we cannot allow the maintenance of production which cannot compete in the areas that do not have suitable conditions for it with regard to the quality of soil, climate, or other natural conditions. This is why we presume that this is not an attempt of eradication of agriculture, this is a pressure and also a help to expand agriculture where the conditions are right for it but only where it is able to withstand competition. Where it is not possible from year to year, it must be spread out, a certain space must be given to it but we cannot go on to maintain forever the structure of agricultural production as it is now. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Czech Screening Commission Chairman on Checks

LD0501043592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] Ivan Masek, chairman of the Screening Commission of the Czech National Council, said today in an interview for CSTK that the purpose of screening is not to make public the names of secret police collaborators, but to ensure the departure from their posts of those with positive screening results.

Reacting to the remark that his statement at yesterday's news conference of the Civic Democratic Alliance concerning the resignation of Czech Justice Minister Leon Richter could be interpreted in an ambiguous way, Ivan Masek responded: If a minister is positively screened and left, we have no right to announce this to you. I am bound by an oath of silence. If I told you that the results of his screening were negative and he still left, it would create a precedent and we would be obliged to announce in every case when an official resigns from his post that the reason for it was not because the results of his screening were positive. Thus, a negative selection of those screened would be carried out.

Masek added that the whole Czech Government has already been screened. He also voiced a possibility that the Screening Commission of the Czech National Council will succeed in completing the screening by the end of March at the latest.

Horn, Katona Discuss Regional Cooperation

LD0601234992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1930 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Roundtable with correspondent Andras Kerekes; Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee; and Tomas Katona, state secretary at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; from the "Without Borders" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kerekes] [Passage omitted] First and foremost let me refer to the matter, which cannot be repeated enough times, that different political forces—at least those which have a determining influence, role—have to strive for the greatest possible agreement in the forming and everyday practice of foreign policy of democratic Hungary. I have a feeling that the parliamentary parties are led by this. It is obvious that there are differences, shifts in emphasis, but the main point is that the government should have a wide political backing in this respect, much wider than in other matters.

[Katona] I think, we realized it fairly soon, that it is impossible to make foreign policy in a different way in this country, if only because a small country like Hungary, living in a certain geographic region, under certain historical circumstances, has to move on a rather narrow path. It would be foolish, dangerous to turn off this path, we do not wish to turn off. I think, this is why a certain consensus can be established among the government and all the six parties of the parliament, regarding the general aims of Hungarian foreign policy.

[Horn] I recall May 1990, when the parliament had its first session, after this we immediately had to hold a six-party meeting. It turned out that certain opposition parties were extremely radical, for example, in the matter of the Baltics and in other matters. Well, this radicalism appeared in the following months as well but it has gradually faded and was gradually replaced by striving after national agreement, balance, sound judgement. Now I think that disregarding certain events, when the opposition had to take a strong line against certain manifestations of the government, such as at the beginning of 1991 in the matter of transporting weapons to Croatia, or in other matters, but altogether I think that a six-party consensus has been established.

[Kerekes] [Passage omitted] It is enough to think that in Europe, which is being united, nothing remains from the former regional organizations of our region. Only the Visegrad three can be regarded as a kind of successor organization. At the same time, it is striking that being in a cooperation we are one another's competitor from many points of view. How can these be reconciled?

[Katona] Very easily. While there are actual problems every day, there is a perspective in foreign politics and this perspective, as far as Hungary is concerned, is to join the European unity. The same leads the Czechoslovak and the Polish foreign policy. In this matter we are as much partners as competitors. This makes it possible that these three, which are in a similar situation, even if there was some difference in the phase of development. [passage omitted]

[Horn] In my view, this tripartite cooperation is not some kind of a successor organization. It is not the successor to cooperation of the Warsaw Pact or the CEMA. These are three countries that declared themselves, declared their own policies as ones which wish to catch up with the civilized Europe, wish to be part of the Western European integrational organizations and are most developed in the changes which carry out, help, this aim. [passage omitted] It is not by chance that I say that we actually need to try to get Romania, Yugoslavia, and the other countries as well, to enter the European integrational organizations as this helps the solution of all the problems which we would not manage on a bilateral basis. So this is a very important development regarding the past year. [passage omitted]

[Kerekes] A month has not passed since Prime Minister Jozsef Antall signed the Hungarian-Soviet, then the Hungarian-Russian agreement, and a few hours later he signed in Kiev the Hungarian-Ukrainian agreement. Obviously, work is under way on the agreements to be concluded with the Romanians, the Czechs and Slovaks, and the Yugoslav successor states. What must they be like. How would you like these agreements to be? When do you believe these documents will be worked out? [passage omitted] Is there an easy case among these?

[Katona] There is no easy case, because every word is usually put carefully on the scale. For this reason, the agreements which appear easiest, for example a Hungarian-German, a Hungarian-French one, cause many problems regarding phrasing, subtle emphases, things to be slipped in here and there. Let us add, moreover, that these agreements are statements of intent of a type, and in themselves they do not constitute a solution. Therefore, it is very fine if, let us say, a Hungarian-Romanian bilateral agreement comes about—and we are working on this—but this will not automatically alter the Hungarian-Romanian relationship. For this, all sorts of other things are necessary. All sorts of other things are necessary, and it is necessary to work on this. [passage omitted]

[Horn] I fully agree with Tamas Katona. I, too, am of the view that these basic treaties, interstate treaties, naturally, are paper, in the final analysis. However, they are also extremely important from the viewpoint of creating and strengthening confidence. In my conviction they have achieved this objective, and in my view the Hungarian Government concluded these agreements in good time. Moreover, these provide an opportunity to specify further the cooperation—in a security policy, economic, cultural sphere, and so on.

In my conviction, these, thirdly, provide an opportunity for us to make use of the advantages of the situation, that we were the first to move toward them, and we were not guided by any prejudice. On the contrary, on this basis

we can set off in a direction which is exemplary for the other Eastern European countries, too—for example the nationality cooperation agreement that we concluded with Ukraine, with the Ukraine with which such an agreement would have been inconceivable a few years ago. [Passage omitted]

[Katona] An agreement can include only that on which the two sides agree. Obviously, there is an enormous number of emotional aspects to this, from which these countries will free themselves sooner or later. At the moment they consider it very difficult. That on which agreement can be reached must be put on paper, if only because this will place the forces representing trust and democracy in a better position in these countries, and it will facilitate them in joining Europe.

From the viewpoint of security policy too, an organization, the Warsaw Pact, which may not have served these countries' security interests, has ceased to exist. [passage omitted] And now, as Gyula Horn mentioned earlier, NATO remains alone, one boxer in the ring. The opponent has disappeared. And shadow-boxing sooner or later becomes ridiculous. NATO really will have to rethink the entire European security situation, and it will have to work out a new security policy concept which is much more political, and perhaps less military.

However, it will be possible to a very great extent to bridge over, fundamentally, this emerging interim period by means of these bilateral treaties.

[Horn] The Ukrainian agreement could be a model, but I would caution against generalization. It is not this that is necessary. For example, the Hungarian-Romanian relationship should be examined, together with its characteristics. Some sort of agreement should be reached by taking these into account. So this agreement should not be mechanically followed, just like their joining such an agreement should not be urged, either, because that is unrealistic. Every bilateral relationship has its own particulars.

It is much more important that we should take as a point of departure the current and future basic requirements which characterize each country separately, and we should try to conclude agreements with them in a manner that is tailored to the individual. This is what I consider to be decisive.

Norway's Foreign Minister Stoltenberg Visits

Holds Talks With Goncz

LD0601140592 Budapest MTI in English 1304 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 6 (MTI)—Central Europe will retain its "intermediate" role even after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, since a new great power will inevitably emerge in the latter's place, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz told Norwegian foreign minister in Budapest on Monday.

Touching upon Hungary's negotiations with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Goncz asked for Norway's assistance in settling such debated issues as agricultural export quotas. Goncz pressed for more intensive Western support in the development of east central Europe. Besides the significant assistance the West has granted to date, it should contribute to Hungary's privatization programme with bolder capital investments.

Stoltenberg said his government would increase its support for east central Europe this year.

Meets With Jeszenszky

LD0601162192 Budapest MTI in English 1439 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 6 (MTI)—The successor states of the Soviet Union should be involved in the CSCE process, Foreign Ministers Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary and Thorvald Stoltenberg of Norway agreed in their Budapest talks on Monday.

In a subsequent news conference, the two foreign ministers shared the view that non-European states should also be entitled to join the CSCE. This would be indispensable for the security of the European, Eurasian and Atlantic regions, they said. The sides had a similar approach to the Yugoslavian crisis. Stoltenberg said that Norway, in keeping with its traditional policy, would be prepared to take part in the U.N. peace-keeping mission, if requested.

Jeszenszky said that so far a response had not been received in connection with Hungarian initiatives aimed at easing the crisis. Hungary would welcome solutions that are supported by all parties involved.

Both ministers pressed for intensifying Hungarian-Norwegian dialogue. On this score, Jeszenszky said that the small European states could also expound their positions on the international political scene. Stoltenberg added that a more profound dialogue could improve the flow of information between east and west.

Stoltenberg emphasized that there has been a shift in the interpretation of security. The military aspects are being replaced by global problems such as environmental protection and the elimination of poverty.

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The Norwegian foreign minister met Speaker of Parliament Gyorgy Szabad. In a friendly atmosphere, the minister inquired about the changes in Hungary's political and economic systems, public mood, the public assessment of the operation of parliament, and about Hungarian political activity. He expressed the hope that Szabad would soon meet the official invitation of Josef Benkow, speaker of the Norwegian parliament.

SFRY Paper Offers Rebuttal on Debt Owed

LD0601192592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The Belgrade paper POLITIKA has criticized statements made by certain Hungarian politicians, according to which Serbia owes Hungary for the use of transit routes. The writer of the article states that so far the Yugoslav Government has not tried to reveal the losses caused by Budapest transporting weapons to Croatia. The journalist took grievance at the fact that not the Ministry of Defense, but other, in his opinion, unauthorized, institutions protest against the military actions near the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. However, the author of the article writes at the same time that even his own experience convinced him that the Hungarian Army cultivates friendly relations with Yugoslavia, and that Hungarians do not want uncertainty at their southern borders.

Finance Minister Reviews Economic Situation

LD0601171792 Budapest MTI in English 1553 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 6 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Last year's central budget deficit will probably slightly exceed 114 billion forints, Hungary's Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa told the press here today. He said that the reason the original target of 78 billion forints had been overshot so much was that neither incomes nor expenditures tallied with the targets.

Expenditures were 20 billion forints less and incomes 56 billion forints less than targeted. Businesses paid far less corporation tax than planned, and the budget contribution payable by companies on their state-owned assets was also smaller than planned. Financial institutions paid 10 billion forints less than planned into the budget, because under the new banking law, which comes into effect this year, the commercial banks have more stringent rules for building reserves.

The economy performed worse than expected, with the GDP decreasing by 7-9 per cent. The reasons for that included the fact that liberalized regulations offered many loopholes for evading tax and customs duties.

In spite of all this, Kupa evaluated 1991 as a fair year from the financial point of view. The current account showed a surplus, the exact amount of which will soon be made public by the National Bank of Hungary. Although the central budget deficit was higher than planned, it did not fuel inflation, because the increase was financed from domestic sources, primarily individual savings that grew faster than expected.

Mihaly Kupa considered it an important achievement that the influx of foreign capital picked up during the year and the country's foreign exchange reserves reached 3.6 billion US dollars. He said that the process of creating the institutions of a market economy will be completed this year. Most of the basic economic laws have already been created, and parliament still has to pass legislation on the cooperatives, land, customs and insurance. New institutions are emerging in the economy, such as mortgage loans and land loans.

The finance minister said that guarantee funds will be set up to speed up privatization. By way of an important change, the privatization of large commercial banks will begin this year. Kupa said that the much-larger-than-planned central budget deficit does not jeopardize the three-year agreement with the IMF.

The final agreement covering 1992 will be signed shortly. In fact, the agreement was prepared last year, and its acceptance was conditional on parliament's approval of the central budget and the social security budget: The first condition has been met.

The finance minister expressed the hope that the 1991 situation will not be repeated this year in respect of the budget deficit. He said that last year, the government yielded to pressure from MPs [members of parliament] and put up the income target by 30 billion forints, a target which could not be met after all. Far more cautious income plans have been made for this year. The GDP is targeted to grow by 0-2 [as received] per cent.

Last year's budget deficit was 4 per cent of the GDP, and the deficit forecast for this year will be only 2.5 per cent of the GDP.

Finance Minister's Press Briefing Reported

LD0601131792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 91

[Text] From today prices have gone up again: water, sewage charges, fuel, tobacco, and some alcoholic drinks will become more expensive. The majority of the price increases is the result of increased taxation and this is closely linked to the budget of last year and the current year. Laszlo Gardai was at the press briefing given by Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa.

[Gardai] The deficit of last year's Budget is more than 114 billion forints against the planned 78 billion forints. This was announced by Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa at the start of the year press briefing of the ministry, which by the way was attended by the entire leadership of the ministry.

According to the minister, this deficit does not cause special problems because it can be financed from the population's savings. Giving details of the main figures, it was heard that expenditures lag 20 billion forints behind the plan while at the same time there is a 56 billion forint deficit on the revenue side. One of the main reasons for this is that the economy performed worse than expected: gross national product was 6-7 percent below the planned level. So less tax revenue was raised from the enterprises, the revenue from General Turnover Tax was lower than expected, and because of the

slow rate of privatization the planned revenue from the sale of state assets was not realized either.

Tax payments by the population were as planned, it was heard.

Turning to the current year, Mihaly Kupa said that the most important legislation for establishing a market economy has already been enacted. Among the most important legislation under preparation he mentioned the so-called social legislation. The minister announced that in addition to the Economic Cabinet, there will be a committee on humanities [human bizottsag] concerned with education and culture, a social committee and a committee to coordinate tenders from abroad.

Trade Official on Trade, Privatization in 1991

AU0501204192 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Jan 92 p 10

[Interview with Tamas Schagrin, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, by Kalman Demeter; place and date not given: "World Bank Loan To Support Reorganization of Trade—Reorganization Is Not Without Problems"]

[Excerpts] The number of people employed in trade decreased in 1991, but this sector was better able to keep its employees than other areas of the economy. At the same time, the number of private retailers reached 80,000 by the end of the year. The large number of people who entered the market indicates that in spite of the slump, trade is an attractive area for entrepreneurs and investors. We asked Tamas Schagrin to assess last year's experiences and describe the prospects for 1992.

[Demeter] Two years ago, this sector increased its profits more than the national average, but it declined in 1991....

[Schagrin] Using unchanged prices, retail trade turnover was nearly 12 percent less in 1991 than in 1990 and a suppliers market evolved in domestic trade. Liberalizing prices, imports, and environment of enterprises and the beginning of privatization played a determining role in the latter. The reduction of effective demand also contributed to this. At the same time, because of the competition it was no longer possible to automatically pass on the increased costs to the customers. Therefore, the competition also created some price limitations.

[Demeter] Slow preliminary privatization was often criticized. How far has it progressed now?

[Schagrin] Preliminary privatization only started in the middle of the year, mainly for objective reasons like the unsettled credit conditions. Some 1,700 shops were sold through auctioning by the end of 1991. Out of the approximately 10,000 units that fall under this law, some 4,000 operate in property not owned by the state, and privatization of them is dependent on market conditions due to the owners withholding their consent. In the cases of a further 2,000 units, privatization can only be done after the expiry of operating contracts. As a matter of fact, income from selling shops exceeded 5 billion forints. However, pre-privatization is only one—and not the most important—form of the privatization of trade.

[Demeter] How far has the reorganization of state-run trade enterprises progressed?

[Schagrin] This process has also gained speed because nearly 50 enterprises have been reorganized. At the same time, the fact that the reorganization and privatization are not actually linked to the desired change of the market structure is an unfavorable phenomenon. The sale of shares and parts of shops owned by the State Property Agency has begun but this process also has to be accelerated. [passage omitted]

[Demeter] Entrepreneurs often complain that the economic environment is not entrepreneur-friendly enough....

[Schagrin] Lately, I have often felt that, probably unwillingly, certain state officials have been caught up in a large-scale-enterprise attitude: In certain areas, they want to create conditions for small enterprises that cannot be fulfilled by these enterprises and that are operating conditions for large-scale enterprises present in the market. I am afraid that behind the otherwise decent intentions of establishing stricter professional requirements, there is a basic attitude that makes it more difficult for new enterprises to enter the market and even makes operating the already existing small enterprises difficult.

In my view, as far as possible, all licensing procedures should be stopped. At most the state should determine the level of requirements, but professional associations could play a much greater role in enforcing further professional requirements. However, these alliances still operate as the interest representation groups of large entrepreneurs.

Christian Group Forms Within Smallholders Party

LD0301155692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] A Christian Democratic Group has been formed in the Independent Smallholders' Party. The representatives of the new grouping aim to join forces with all of those smallholders who endeavor to settle conflicts within the party. The Smallholders Christian Democratic Group wants to promote the development of the bourgeoisie primarily by elevating Hungarian villages and increasing the role of national capital.

Faction Leader Views Parliamentary Activity

AU0501201792 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jan 92 p 8

[Interview with Istvan Fodor, head of the Group of Independent Deputies in parliament, by Andras Sereg; place and date not given: "Changing Seats Is Not A Dishonest Thing"]

[Excerpts] After the initial silence, there has been a considerable increase in attention paid to the independent deputies in recent weeks and months. This increased interest is not only due to some more spectacular transfers and seat changes, but also to rumors that the independent deputies will soon form a seventh parliamentary faction, perhaps not even the smallest faction in Parliament. [passage omitted]

[Sereg] In your view, what is the general opinion about the independent deputies?

[Fodor] The parties regarded the independent deputies as a common enemy during the elections. A general view then emerged according to which the independent deputies are playing an insignificant role in a multi-party parliamentary democracy because, as many people claim, only party factions can formulate a politically integrated position. In my opinion, the independent deputies won the voters' confidence precisely with their wide perspective and rich experience; in other words, they are rooted in reality. If so, their opinions cannot differ too much either. Experience has proved this: After its inception, our group succeeded in forming a majority view not only on technical matters, but also on political issues. [passage omitted]

[Sereg] An increasing number of disappointed people are shifting to the independent group.

[Fodor] I would not like to classify or hurt my fellow deputies, but I see two types of behavior on the part of those who change seats in Parliament. The majority are those who left their former groups for personal rather than political reasons. Some people had different views from the ones shared by most deputies in their faction. [passage omitted]

I do not think it is dishonest behavior if one recognizes his mistake and changes seats within the parliament. On the contrary: This is honest behavior toward his party and himself. I think such changes will continue at the same pace in the coming two years. [passage omitted]

Record Grain, Corn Harvests Reported

LD0401222892 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] There was a record Hungarian grain crop last year. According to a report from the Central Statistical Office, 26 percent more crops was harvested than the average of the past five years, despite the fact that farms sowed 70,000 less hectares of wheat.

We also had a record corn harvest in 1991. The average yield of corn was 21 percent more than in the last five years.

Walesa, Leaders Discuss Defense Ministry Issues

LD0601164192 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—President Lech Walesa received National Defence Minister Jan Parys in the presence of Secretary of the Office for National Security Jerzy Milewski and secretaries of state: Head of Presidential Office Mieczyslaw Wachowski, press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski and chaplain Franciszek Cybula.

Minister Parys presented the situation in his ministry and discussed directions of changes in his ministry in connection with setting up its civilian section.

The president stressed that the Sejm political decisions, envisaging that a civilian should be the national defence minister, made changes in this ministry inevitable. The hitherto national defence minister proved to be a good soldier for whom a place would have to be found in Poland undergoing reform.

The interlocutors agreed upon close cooperation between the Ministry of National Defence and the Office for National Security and said that a meeting of the National Security Council should be convened in the coming future.

At the end of the meeting, the president said that questions of security and defence could not be the subject of political struggle and should be solved under a supra party agreement.

Olszewski Hopes To Find Balance With Left Wing

LD0601221692 Warsaw PAP in English 2119 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on Monday [6 January] told the Presidium of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) parliamentary floor group he hoped for finding a common tongue despite ideological differences.

SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski declared that his alliance is prepared to talk business with the government and stressed that his more than an hour-long conversation with the prime minister proved this is possible.

Both politicians also discussed the question of "de-communisation" which the prime minister understands, according to Kwasniewski, as structural changes and reforms of state administration. Kwasniewski is of the opinion that such "de- communisation" must result in in fully democratic structures free of corruption and incompetence.

Spokesman for the SLD floor group Marek Siwiec said there were more agreements than disagreements between the sides over "de-communisation."

Also on Monday Prime Minister Olszewski met with leaders of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) parliamentary floor group to discuss the provisional budget.

KPN leader Leszek Moczulski said after the meeting that the budget bill was unrealistic and suggested to suspend work on the budget for the first quarter of 1992 and define preliminary expenditure for the coming 10 to 12 weeks instead. He also proposed to use the state foreign currency reserves.

"We suggest spending 1 billion dollars out of the six deposited," he said and added that the issue of the Polish zloty should also be increased provided the money would be used for investment and credits stimulating the economy. "We should resort to risky solutions which would, however, give a chance (to overcome crisis)," he underlined.

Moczulski also said that if a parlimentary opposition were to be formed it would be grouped either around the Democratic Left Alliance or the Confederation for Independent Poland.

Olszewski Accepts Reform Program for Steelworks

LD0601223592 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The government intends to assign at least 350 billion zlotys for compensations for the increase in the price of power. During the meeting with activists of Solidarity '80, Prime Minister Olszewski also accepted the reform program for Sedzimir steelworks.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] It has not been decided when the payment of compensation will start and whether it will be calculated from the time that the increase of prices were introduced. There might be more money for compensation.

[Unidentified person] This is simply not a closed matter. We are looking for the money in the budget to assign even more money to this goal.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister Olszewski said that he will deal with the problem of saving the Sedzimir steelworks personally.

[Unidentified person] He declared that he will take responsibility for introducing a reform program for the steelworks. The most crucial element of the program is the credit guarantees and the possibility of obtaining the credit of DM 200,000,000 for the implementation of the continous flow steel production line.

[Correspondent] There will not be mass redundancies in the steelworks. The Solidarity '80 activists claimed that there was a danger of redundancy for 15,000 people. There are 24,000 people in the workforce. The reform program is going to be introduced in the next few months. Today is the fifteenth day of the hunger strike in the steelworks, and 14 steelworkers are taking part in it

from all trade unions. They are supported by the majority of the staff. The strikers have been anxiously waiting since morning for the news from Warsaw. The telephone rang at 1300 GMT. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified person] I can only say, while awaiting the arrival of the vice chairman, that the hunger strike will probably be suspended. [end recording]

New Minister Promises Accelerated Privatization

LD0601223792 Warsaw PAP in English 2209 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—An acceleration of the process of privatisation was promised by the new minister of privatisation, Tomasz Gruszecki on Monday [6 January]. He said domestic capital would be encouraged to get more involved in privatisation and that there would be an investigation into the possibility of including the Polish emigration in the process.

The minister said that government structures needed to be reformed. Parallel to the formation of a treasury there should also be a national economics ministry which could formulate industrial policy. That is what the prime minister had in mind when he avoided appointing four people to head four ministries.

He added that it would take around six months to conclude this reform and also remarked that special powers for the government in strictly defined matters would be helpful.

Gruszecki went on to say that privatistaion should be an integral part of industrial policy. The programme of sectoral privatisation prepared by the privatisation ministry during the previous governments term in office had been a substitute for such a policy, he said.

The minister emphasised that the actual undertaking of privatisation should be left to commercial firms and not state officials. He thought that the money from privatisation should go towards restructuring and modernising the state sector, which still constitutes the main source of income for the treasury.

Gruszecki saw a certain political sense in linking reprivatisation with the privatisation programme but added that this was a loose idea needing further analysis and discussion.

Senate Faults Defense Budget Allocations

LD0601221492 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—The Senate Committee for National Defence stated after a seven-hour meeting on Monday [6 January] that the sum of 5,028 billion zlotys (437 million dollars) earmarked in this year provisional budget for the Defence Ministry was "not sufficient for the Polish Army to survive."

The ministry budget for the first quarter of 1992 was cut by 23 per cent as compared to 1991.

The committee underlined that three-fourths of the budget will go for the maintenance of the military personnel and only small means will be used for training and purchases of military equipment. Additionally, some 600 billion zlotys (52 million dollars) in unpaid bills for the deliveries of arms will have to be paid from this year budget.

According to the committee the minimum Army orders from the arms-producing industry should amount to 4.5 trillion zlotys (391 million dollars) throughout 1992. But as there is no alternative to the governmental provisional budget, senators proposed a moratorium on the debts owed by the ministry to arms-producers.

The committee also suggested to channel the means refunded by the U.N. for Polish participation in peacekeeping forces directly to the Defence Ministry instead of the central budget and to exempt arms imports from duty.

Members of the Industry Ministry underlined that exports of Polish arms were indispensable to gain means for the modernization of the military equipment and proposed to limit the list of countries to which such exports were banned.

Deputy chief of staff, General Franciszek Puchala, told senators that some budgetary cuts could be made in the Army health care system and military fringe benefits.

He also said there were 81 generals serving in the Polish Army at present compared to 173 in 1988. In 1992, 20 generals are going to retire.

Ukraine, Belarus Coupons Affects Local Markets

LD0601224192 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2145 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The announcement of the introduction of multiple-use coupons by Ukraine in the place of rubles has caused the rate offerred in the exchange booths of Przemysl to be one zloty for one ruble. There were no takers for such transactions, and as of today 50 zloties were being offerred for one ruble.

The number of people coming to Poland from the republics of the former Soviet Union has fallen almost tenfold. There are no lines at the border crossings at Doruhusk and Terespol. Most travellers turning up at the border are people leaving our country. The situation with rail traffic is similar. The introduction of free prices in the bordering republics means that our markets, occupied until now by citizens of Ukraine or Belarus, are now echoing and empty. The trade has ceased to be worthwhile. At the Lublin market at the foot of the castle entire sectors usually occupied by visitors from beyond the river Bug are entirely empty.

Stolojan Appeals for Cooperation With Census

AU0601165292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1441 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/1/1991—On the census of the population and of dwellings, to get under way on Tuesday, January 7, the prime minister of Romania, Theodor Stolojan, called on all the country's residents urging them to contribute to the success of that vast statistic operation. Expressing the hope that the census would be backed by the population as a whole, the Romanian premier said that the statistical consultation of the population after 15 years (the latest census was taken in March 1977) took place at a historic moment in the evolution of the Romanian society. The cost of the operation is high, the premier said, and Romania can not afford to take another census before the end of the century. That is why, he said, the truth is needed more than ever before and the census should be a part of that truth referring to the number of the population, its demographic, sociocultural, ethnic and economic structures, the state of the housing stock and the population's living conditions.

The premier pointed out that the census, to run for eight days, was exclusively statistical in character. Personal information are strictly confidential and the law provides for severe penalties in case that character is not observed. Measures were taken to check the fairness of recordings so that the census may be taken in proper conditions.

Marculescu Notes 'Dramatic Period' in Food Supply

AU0601165092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1352 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/1/1992—Five out of the eight million hectares of arable land remained unploughed in 1991 for the spring sowings, while the 100,000 tractors are not enough to make all farm activities in due time, said Agriculture and Food Minister Petru Marculescu in an interview with daily "DIMINEATA".

He notes that "since the 1945-1946 drought Romania has not passed such a dramatic period as far as the ensurance of food from own resources is concerned."

The minister explains that situation by the fact that Romania, where the forced cooperativisation of agriculture was made in about ten years, thought that the return to the traditional peasant property could be achieved in one year. In his opinion, in the present Romanian village "one can no longer speak about the existence of the peasants as we have known them from a long time," while the application of the laws adopted after the revolution "was accompanied by destructive acts and deeds almost all over the country." The minister says that "of special gravity is the fact that those destructions were made—many times—under the sometimes encouraging sight of the members of the special commissions."

Agrarian Party Withdraws From Charter for Reform

AU0601164892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/1/1992—The Democratic Agrarian Party officially announced its withdrawal from the Charter for Reform and Democracy, formed on 11 July 1991, with the National Salvation Front, the Ecologist Movement and the Liberal Party. A communique signed by the Agrarian Party's chairman, Victor Surdu, mentioned that the decision was adopted by the Coordinating National Council of the party in its sitting held at Arad, Bucharest, Braila, Piatra Neamt and Sibiu.

The withdrawal of the Democratic Agrarian Party from the Charter virtually is a "de jure" move, as the alliance stopped operating soon after having been formed. In an interview with the 19 issue of the daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL", Mr. Surdu said that "the charter is a sheet of paper stipulating a number of principles. ... Two months after the installation of the new government (Stolojan government) none of those nominated by us in our last meeting was appointed. To say nothing of the fact that what we agreed to make for it to operate, at the level of counties included, was not put to work". He also mentioned that a number of documents issued in the name of the Charter for Reform and Democracy were drawn up without the Democratic Agrarian Party having been consulted".

We mention that in the autumn of 1991, the Liberal Party (former National Liberal Party-Young Wing) left the Charter for Reform and Democracy and the chairman of the Ecologist Movement, Toma George Maiorescu subsequently said, referring to the same grouping, that his party "cannot belong to something that is not functioning". The idea of the charter, added Mr. Maiorescu, was born at a moment of "social and political convulsions, when the unity, in a joint effort, of the democratic forces seemed to be a chance for overcoming the difficulties. The Ecologic Movement understood at the time the necessity of joining the power in fields of ecologic interest, but the charter remained in the phase of a desideratum".

The Democratic Agrarian Party withdrawal from the Charter for Reform and Democracy practically signifies its dissolution.

* 'Text' on Organization of Interior Ministry

92P2OO96A Bucharest MONITORUL OFICIAL in Romanian 6 Dec 91 p 2

["Text" of Decision on the Organizational Structure and Forces of the Ministry of Interior]

[Text] The Government of Romania decides:

Article 1—The Ministry of Interior is headed by a minister and four state secretaries, one of whom is the head of the General Inspectorate of the Police.

Article 2—The organizational structure of the Ministry of Interior is given in Attachment 1.

Article 3—The number of positions of officers, petty officers, and noncommissioned officers, active duty military men, and civilian personnel, in peacetime and under mobilization, is specified in attachments 2 and 3 which will be transmitted to the ministries concerned.

Article 4—Attachments 1-3 are an integral part of the present decision.

Article 5—Article 10, Article 19, paragraph 2, and Article 27, as well as attachments 1 and 2 of Government Decision No. 01000 of 3 September 1990 are repealed.

Prime Minister
Theodor Stolojan

Bucharest, 11 November 1991

No. 769

Attachment 1—On the organizational structure of the Ministry of Interior

I. The Ministry of Interior has the following organizational structure:
   A. Central Apparatus
      1. Directorate for organization, mobilization, and operations
      2. Directorate for personnel and training
      3. Control corps (on a directorate level)
      4. Directorate for public relations and secretariat
      5. General directorate for equipment and logistics, with:
         a. the technical directorate
         b. the directorate for communications and data processing
         c. the quartermaster directorate
         d. the medical directorate
      6. Directorate for finances and accounting
      7. Directorate for information
      8. Financial management monitoring department
      9. Legal department
   B. Inspectorates, Commands, General Directorates, Directorates, Departments, and Similar Units
      1. The General Inspectorate of the Police, which includes:
         a. inspectorates, directorates, brigades, and departments
         b. territorial police units and inspectorates.
      2. The Military Police Troops Command, with large units and other units;
      3. The Firefighter Troops Command, with:
         a. the Bucharest firefighters' brigade
         b. the groups of county firefighters
         c. the center for firefighting research and experimentation.
      4. The General Directorate for Passports and Border Police, with:
         a. the passport directorate
         b. the border police directorate
         c. passport departments or offices
         d. border police stations.
      5. The General Directorate of State Archives, with:
         a. The Directorate for Development, Restoration, and Technical-Material Supply
         b. The Central Archives Directorate
         c. the county and Bucharest Municipality branches
         d. the National Archives School.
      6. The "Alexandru loan Cuza" Police Academy
      7. The Air Force Unit
      8. The Directorate of Culture

II. The Ministry of the Interior has under its jurisdiction military education institutions, medical and psychological testing units, cultural, artistic and cinematography units, specialized publishing houses and publications, information and documentation offices, repair units for technical equipment and constructions, sports clubs, laboratories, and other units. It also coordinates autonomous managements. The minister of interior determines the organizational structure, by departments, of the units approved by the present Government Decision and can establish, relocate, and dissolve other similar units, institutions, and repair and production workshops, in accordance with the law, within the limits of the approved positions and wage fund.

III. The organizational structure of the units that the Ministry of Interior establishes during conditions of mobilization is set within the limits of the positions allocated for this purpose and in the general framework of the mobilization plan.

IV. In order to provide a flexible and effective structure, in relation to the volume and importance of the tasks, the minister of interior will determine the manner of coordination by the state secretaries of the general inspectorates, the inspectorates, the commands, the general directorates, the directorates, and the units subordinate to them.

Federal

Party Reaction to New Convention Reported

LD0601231092 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2146 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan (TANJUG)—The Forum for the Republic of Yugoslavia underlined today that the convention on Yugoslavia was an attempt to legalize the existing armed secessionism and enable new secessionism in other parts of the country by misinterpreting the right of nations to self-determination.

At a meeting held in Belgrade on January 3, initiated by around ten Bosnia-Hercegovina parties, 104 parties signed a convention on Yugoslavia which is to be soon implemented by those peoples and republics wanting to preserve it.

The prominent parties at the gathering were the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as the ruling party in Montenegro, the Democratic Party of Socialists.

The Forum for the Republic of Yugoslavia, which did not sign the convention, asked the Federal Presidency and the Federal Secretariat for National Defence to urgently form an interim government of national unity, declare a general mobilization and proclaim a state of war so as to successfully defend the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

On the other hand, the leadership of the Socialist Party of Montenegro demanded that the next session of the republican parliament discuss the recall of Branko Kostic, the vice-president of the Yugoslav State Presidency, because he "is one of the chief protagonists of the so-called convention on Yugoslavia".

This party, which heads the opposition block of reformist forces in the parliament of the smallest Yugoslav republic, accused Kostic of conducting an anti-Montenegrin policy on behalf of Montenegro. The party said that at the meeting of around 160 parties, associations and institutions in Belgrade last Friday, Kostic had tried to draw the Republic of Montenegro "into a fictional state before its citizens had an opportunity to democratically decided about it themselves."

At a press conference in Sarajevo, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Liberal Party Rasim Kadic termed the convention on Yugoslavia a quasi-political solution to the problems in the country. The gathering in Belgrade discredits the idea of Yugoslavianism, since the policy of imposed Yugoslavianism can only lead to conflicts, he concluded.

President of the Serbian National Renewal (SNO) Mirko Jovic said at a press conference in Belgrade that an all-Serbian convention should set up a Serbian federaiton since a new Yugoslavia, made up of Serbian lands, was of no interest to Serbia.

Slovenia

Government Denies Requesting German Economic Aid

92BA0272A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Dec 91 p 3

[Article by Marjeta Sostaric: "Lojze Peterle's Denials"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Dec—No one in the Slovene Government, it seems, has asked Germany for assistance in the amount of somewhat less than 2 billion German marks [DM], which Slovenia is supposed to need for the financial rehabilitation of its economy. After this was denied yesterday by the finance minister and then also by the Foreign Ministry's representative for public relations, Prime Minister Lojze Peterle also denied TANJUG's news for us today during his press conference.

TANJUG's claim, supported by rather precise figures, about how much Germany would be prepared to support Slovenia and its economy, is consequently not true. A public announcement also came from the Slovene Prime Minister's office today, which is actually a translation of the text of a letter that Prime Minister Peterle received in response to his letter to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. In that letter, Chancellor Kohl thanks the Slovene Prime Minister for his letter of 27 August and for additional letters, dated 14 and 23 October. In them, Prime Minister Peterle, it says, presented several proposals for extensive cooperation between Germany and Slovenia. Among other things, it mentioned industrial modernization, and Kohl welcomed the idea that both states would cooperate in the intensification and development of that industry. Otherwise, the letter also states that German organizations and their associations, "especially the federal organization of German industry, could offer valuable assistance. The Federal Ministry for the Economy also offers to cooperate with organizations and companies in the area of the economy, naturally, in all possible ways."

Continuing, Chancellor Kohl states that the German Federal Government decided back at the beginning of August that it would offer guarantees for short-term transactions by Hermes, and also that he is aware "that the lack of medium-term and long-term coverage by Hermes is seriously restricting the possibilities for Slovene imports from Germany. This issue will be examined further, although it is necessary in this regard to observe the standards that have already been instituted."

As Helmut Kohl wrote in conclusion, the Federal Republic of Germany, at this time, will fully support Slovenia's requests for admission to the International Monetary Fund and other organizations, including the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. "After successful admission to those organizations, Slovenia will have access to those institutions' credit facilities, like every other member country."

The letter, in which Prime Minister Peterle consequently is supposed to have denied asking Germany for monetary assistance, really does not mention any figure, and thus nothing like what TANJUG provided to the world. Nevertheless, one can conclude from Kohl's response (especially the last sentence) that the memorandum cited by TANJUG, sent by the Slovene Prime Minister to Kohl, also requested monetary assistance. Finally, TV reporter Vida Petrovic, who is also obviously quite well informed by government circles, in the central news report on Sunday evening (1 December), concluded a brief report on the consequences of the Pleskovic affair in connection with the financial rehabilitation of banks with the following sentence: "Some time ago Prime Minister Peterle even asked Chancellor Kohl for assistance in implementing it (namely, the government's macroeconomic program, which also provides for the financial rehabilitation of banks)."

Kucan Says Republic Will Protect Minorities

92BA0272B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
16 Dec 91 p 2

[Article by Lojze Kante and Ivan Gerencer: "Slovenia Will Protect All Minority Rights: At the End of the Week, Milan Kucan Visited Slovenians in Italy and Hungarians in Pomurje—Assimilation of Hungarians"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Gorizia, Lendava, 15 Dec—Yesterday afternoon Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, was the guest of Slovenes in Italy. He met with the elected representatives of three Slovene opstinas in Gorizia, the mayors of Sovodenja, Doberdub, and Steverjan, with a delegation that politically covered the entire border area inhabited by Slovenes, and with Gorizia Mayor Antonio Scarana.

President Kucan used the visit primarily to describe Slovenia's present situation, and to articulate his views on settling minority issues. In particular, he thanked his hosts for their solidarity and support during the war in Slovenia. He told his interlocutors that, with international recognition, we would get rid of the danger of war, and that would also make it possible for us to begin to deal seriously with the economy. In this regard he recalled that in many places in the world, they do not understand our efforts, and that the delay in recognizing Slovenia and the other republics that have met the conditions for this is strengthening Serbia, which accelerated the collapse of Yugoslavia through its extremely negative attitude toward the Albanians in Kosovo, because it hopes that it will achieve its political goals in the war with Croatia. Recognition should not be understood as some sort of debt owed by foreign states, but rather as our right, which will not solve all of our difficulties by itself. In regard to the issue of minorities, Kucan recalled that Slovenia, as a successor to Yugoslavia, would develop relations with the world through several documents which had already been adopted, and some of them also applied to minority issues. Slovenia has its accounts clear with its minorities, the Hungarian one in Pomurje and the Italian one in Istria, since they are protected more than is required by international standards.

This morning, in Dobrovnik, the largest Hungarian village in Prekmurje, President Kucan opened a new production shop at the Otiskivrh Textile Factory, and in the afternoon he spoke in Lendava with representatives of the ethnic communities of Hungarians from the Lendava and Sobota opstinas, when they warned him primarily about the difficulties and problems that had to be solved in order for the Hungarian ethnic community to avoid the process of assimilation.

Ethnic minority delegate Marija Pozsonec said that in 10 years the number of Hungarians in Prekmurje had declined by about 1,000, and the number of school-age children in Dobrovnik had been cut in half.

It was Kucan's belief that this had not happened because of political reasons or a lack of legal protection, but rather because of economic reasons. That is a fact that we in Slovenia should by no means close our eyes to, since Europe is very sensitive about the rights of ethnic minorities and their equality with majority peoples.

Kucan also told the Hungarians in Lendava that the new constitution should guarantee ethnic communities at least the present level of rights. The Hungarians warned Kucan that they were not satisfied with part of the wording in article 64 of the new constitution. The exact text provides a possibility for different interpretations, for instance, that bilingual education is only necessary for the sake of the ethnic minority. For this reason, there may also be unnecessary complications, as well as a constitutional dispute, as in 1969.

Croatia

JNA Plane Downs 2 EC Helicopters Near Zagreb

LD0701154392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] At 1410 [1310 GMT], one aircraft of the enemy Yugoslav Army attacked two helicopters of the European mission that were flying over the area of the Varazdin police administration. One helicopter was hit, most probably by a rocket, and exploded in the area of the village of Madzarevo. The other helicopter was forced to land near the same village. Four members of the EC mission, who were responsible for inspections in that village, were on board. The helicopter that was hit probably was carrying five members of the European mission. The overflights of the above-mentioned two helicopters of the European mission had been announced in advance in accordance with normal procedures. Further information is being gathered about the incident, and an investigation is being prepared.

TANJUG Reports Cease-Fire Violations

LD0701140992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Zagreb, January 7 (TANJUG)—There were no clashes on the battlefronts in Croatia last night, but there were some provocations in certain crisis regions, as TANJUG's reporters say citing military sources. The Information Office of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) command in Sid said that the Croatian para-military forces opened mortar fire from the direction of the village Nustar, near Vinkovci in Eastern Slavonia, on JNA and territorial defence units exactly at midnight last night. There were no casualties and the JNA and Territorial Defence units did not return fire, the statement said.

Croatian Radio, whose broadcasts are subject to censorship under a decree by President Franjo Tudjman, did not give detailed reports about the situation on the front around Vinkovci. The Croatian forces fired several mortar grenades on JNA and territorial defence units in Baranja, eastern Croatia, at 10 p.m. last night, military sources said, adding that the army did not respond to this or any of the previous attacks. The Information Office of the "Baranja" operative group today said that the Croatian armed formations violated the latest ceasefire nine times so far.

The Croatian side does not abide by provisions of the agreement on "telephone hot lines" according to which the commands of the warring sides in Beli Manastir and Osijek are to be constantly in touch and discuss every incident, the Army said. Croatian Radio claims that several mortar grenades were fired on Osijek and its Tvrdjavica suburb from the direction of Baranja just after midnight last night. TANJUG's reporter, citing the Information Office of the JNA Banja Luka corps, said there were no provocations in Western Slavonia.

Croatian Radio claims that the "enemy occasionally violated the ceasefire by opening fire from infantry weapons" in the region of Nova Gradiska. The radio said there were two strong explosions in the town after midnight, but did not elaborate. The press center of the JNA operative group for Banija and Kordun in Dvor Na Uni, central Croatia, said it was quiet. Croatian Radio first reported that the ceasefire was observed in Posavina, Pokuplje and Banija, but later it said that the "enemy" fired 37 shells in Posavina during the night. The radio gave no details about the incident.

TANJUG's reporter in northern Dalmatia said there were no clashes or provocations, according to the first morning reports. Croatian Radio said there had been frequent provocations by the "enemy" in the hinterland of Zadar and Biograd during the night, adding that the "Croatian Army observed the signed ceasefire." It was quiet around Dubrovnik and in Hercegovina, as the Trebinje-based press center of the second JNA operative group for Hercegovina said.

Mirkovci, Ceric Shelled

AU0601153492 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Excerpts] When we called for caution after a day-long lull on the battlefield near Vinkovci, this was not without reason as the Croatian Armed Forces stated that the 15th cease-fire agreement did not concern them. So, at about 2020 [1920 GMT] yesterday, Croatian fighters directed their mortars and artillery at the villages of Mirkovci and Ceric and fired 15 shells in about 10 minutes. One civilian was wounded, but no one was killed. Later, several more projectiles were fired sporadically. The shelling ended at about 2200. The Army and the Territorial Defense did not return fire. [passage omitted]

Early this morning, artillery fire was opened on the village of Ceric from the well-known Ustasha strongholds near Vinkovci and Nustar. Ceric is held by the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense. The village of Mirkovci was this time spared, probably because it was being visited by the EC observers. There is no information yet on casualties or material damage. A news conference is planned for later.

Tudjman Comments on Cease-Fire, Sovereignty

LD0601181892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Zagreb, January 6 (TANJUG)—President of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman said in Zagreb today that the ceasefire signed on January 2, 1992 in Sarajevo, was being observed on the fronts in Croatia. At today's regular monthly press conference, Tudjman said that apart from smaller sporadic violations of the Sarajevo agreement, both sides were observing the ceasefire.

Asked about the next meeting of the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels, Tudjman said that he did not know Lord Carrington's exact reason for calling the meeting, but that he would attend it. Tudjman said that a peacekeeping force "could come, even by January 15," and added that "its arrival would have no direct bearing on the international recognition of Croatia."

Tudjman underscored that for Croatia, the engagement of a peacekeeping force was a way to end the war and destruction and for the arrival of peace, while for the other side it meant "an honourable way to leave Croatia." Tudjman also said that after the arrival of the peacekeeping force, the Yugoslav Army would "simultaneously depart from all occupied areas in Croatia." After this, legal order would be set up in accordance with the Constitution and the law on ethnic communities and national minorities, specified Tudjman.

Asked about the fate of the armed formations in those parts of Croatia that are predominantly Serb populated, Tudjman said that "all such formations must leave or be

disarmed." In the event that the crisis is not resolved peacefully, Croatia will "continue the war until every bit of Croatian soil is free," said Tudjman. Answering the question on how long it would take to set up the sovereignity of the Republic of Croatia, Tudjman said that "the matter did not refer to months or years, but to days and weeks."

After Cyrus Vance's latest engagement, and that of the United States, it is probable that the "United States will follow the other countries and recognize Croatia very soon," said Tudjman. Speaking of cooperation with other states of the "former Yugoslavia," Tudjman said that "Croatia will set up relations with those states which will be internationally recognized and those which recognize Croatia on the basis of mutual interests."

Krajina's Babic Ready To Meet Butrus Ghali

LD0701120192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1011 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Knin, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—After his recent statement regarding a concept on the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia, President of Serbian Krajina Milan Babic sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Butrus Ghali. Babic wrote in the letter that he appreciated Butrus Ghali's "personal efforts and those of the United Nations to put an end to hostilities in Yugoslavia and to reestablish peace."

However, Babic expressed "regrets that he was not able to present to Cyrus Vance a proposal on deploying peacekeeping forces." To this effect, he expresses his readiness to meet the UN Secretary General in the UN headquarters in New York or his personal envoy Cyrus Vance on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Slavonia Government Rejects UN Force Deployment

LD0601200392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Erdut, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—The government of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem today considered the provisions of the agreement on the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces, and decided not to accept the deployment of the "blue helmets" inside the territory of the Serbian region.

As stated in the announcement from the government session, the Serbian people do not need any better protection than that which they are now given by their Yugoslav Army. On the contrary, apart from deploying the UN forces along the line separating the warring parties, which we fully accept, we propose that these forces be deployed inside the territory that is now controlled by the Croatian paramilitary formations, and where acts of genocide have definitively been committed against the Serbs, acts which are continuing.

As regards the steps and obligations of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in connection with the provisions of the agreement, the government of the Serbian region, the announcement emphasizes, leaves it to the conscience and consciousness of the most responsible people in the JNA whether they issue the order for the withdrawal of soldiers to the line of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation War [AVNOJ]—the Serbian border. It is also left to the Serbs in the JNA whether they accept such an order, appreciating all the possible heavy consequences for our people and state.

The announcement from today's session of the government of the Serbian region in Erdut concludes that the government of the Serbian region considers that the people of this region will retain all JNA equipment and use it in the spirit of the Serbian military art and as good house-holders defending their homes.

Objections to Vance Plan Detailed

LD0601172292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Erdut, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem has a series of principled and concrete objections to the peace plan of Cyrus Vance, the special envoy of the UN secretary general. Drago Njegovan, an adviser in the Information Ministry, informed journalists in detail of these objections, which will be on the agenda of today's session of the government of the Serbian region in Erdut.

Cyrus Vance's plan, Njegovan explained, favors the Croatian side. It envisages, he says, that Serbs in the Republic of Serbian Krajina be disarmed for the first time in history, while on the other hand there is legalization of the Croatian Armed Forces. It is essential, Njegovan went on, to give a full guarantee to the Serbian people in the former administrative borders of Croatia, including areas outside Krajina. Protection is essential for Serbs in Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, Varazdin, Pula, and other large towns.

UN police forces ought, in particular, to be deployed in "border towns": in Zadar, Sibenik, Osijek, Vinkovci, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina, Slavonska Pozega, Drnis, Gospic, Otocac, Karlovac, Sisak, and Sinj. The government in the Serbian region considers that it is in order, as the UN plan envisages, that police forces will correspond to the structure of the population, but it requests that the same also relate to the "rest of of Croatia."

Vance's plan is also criticized for the fact that it fails to mention the phenomenon of "the Republic of Serbian Krajina," while government representatives make reference to "local leaders", Njegovan says and concludes: The Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) is our army, and it must remain on our territory. We will only permit the possibility that it withdraw five to 10 kms from the front line.

Tudjman, Greguric Meet CSFR Delegation

LD0601184292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, today received in Zagreb a delegation of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, including Sasa Vondra, assistant to President Havel for foreign policy; Zdenko Pirek, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Frantisek Lipka, the Czechoslovak ambassador, who handed him a letter from President Havel.

As stressed in the statement on today's meeting, the letter indicated that the Czech and Slovak Republic would soon recognize the Republic of Croatia and that it would involve itself within the framework of European institutions with the aim of halting the war being waged against the Republic of Croatia. President Havel expressed the willingness of his country to take part in the peacekeeping mission of the United Nations in Croatia.

President Tudjman informed his eminent guests about the prospects for halting the war and involving the blue helmets, and about the danger of the conflict being transferred to neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina, the statement says in conclusion. In addition, as we have already reported, President Franjo Greguric of the Government of Croatia held talks in Zagreb today with the delegation of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, headed by Sasa Vondra, assistant to the president for foreign policy. Their talks concentrated on the possibilities for economic cooperation between the two countries.

Serbia

Reservists Protest Return to Croatian Front

AU0701134592 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Some 1,000 reservist, together with their parents and other people, protested their return to the front outside the Pozarevac Cultural Hall yesterday. These reservists had spent 40 days on the Croatian battlefields. They lost seven of their colleagues in Marinci. They are supposed to return to the front on 9 January.

The reservists yesterday, in vain, demanded talks with the authorized representatives of the military authorities. They also demanded the release of four detained reservists. As they did not succeed in contacting the representatives of the First Military District, they blocked the Pozarevac—Kostolac road.

Serbian Renewal Movement Rejects Convention

AU0601165492 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Vladimir Nikolic report]

[Text] The new Yugoslavia cannot be created solely from Serbian territories. It cannot be created on false brotherhood and unity either. It can only be created on common interests and through agreement. This was stated by Mirko Jovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, at a news conference in Belgrade today. He explained that the wish of the Serbian National Renewal for a solution on a new Yugoslavia to be found among the leading parties has not materialized, because those who indeed represent the peoples of other republics did not attend the convention in Belgrade on 3 January. The convention was mainly attended by minor parties and associations. Therefore, the Serbian National Renewal did not agree to sign the convention on a new Yugoslavia, Jovic said.

Jovic also spoke about the announced withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Serbian Krajina in view of the arrival of the blue helmets. He stressed that the fighters of his party's unit, the Dusan Silni unit, who have been fighting in Krajina for some time, will not withdraw and leave the Serbian people unprotected. They will withdraw only if Milan Babic [president of Serbian Krajina] and the Serbs who live there agree that the blue helmets should be deployed there and the Yugoslav People's Army and his party's unit withdraw, Jovic stressed.

He quoted Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, saying that those who are tired can go back to the second or third line because they can help from there as well. They should let those who are more able and who can bear this burden come to the front line.

Reporter Views Alleged Killing of Children

92BA0233A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 29 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by B. Ivanisevic: "The Man Who Saw Too Much"]

[Text] In two days, Goran Mikic tasted all the "glamour" and all the "misery" of covering a war as a news photographer for world newspapers. First, his story about the massacre of 41 Serbian children in Borovo Naselje traveled around the world, and then the next day denials of that report went around the same channels. The young reporter (age 22) took that hard—much harder than what he saw on the battlefield.

It all happened so fast that almost no one had time to ask: Who is Goran Mikic? Here is a brief biography of this "glory hound," as some people say, and news photographer who, to his own regret and that of many, did not win fame with a photograph, but with his verbal report (when there were not two witnesses): He was born in Belgrade, he is in his second year in the Belgrade branch of the Famous Photography School, an American school that has a branch in Germany, and is licensed here by USUF (Association of Free-Lance Art Photographers of Serbia); he will receive his diploma after three

years of study. Mikic has been involved with photography for five years. He has been publishing his pictures in newspapers since the demonstrations in Belgrade this March. That was when his first photograph appeared on the front page of VECERNJE NOVOSTI. He also had pictures in an exhibition on the events of 9 March in the Sava Conference Center. He has also published in OSMICA. As a free lancer, he has sold photographs from Tenja to the Associated Press and from Cavtat to REUTER. He gave the photographs from Borovo Naselje to REUTER. What follows is his account of his last assignment.

That day, I had started out for Vukovar when I heard on the radio that the town had been taken. I wanted at least to take shots of the prisoners. But when I entered Borovo Selo, you could hear it thundering in Borovo Naselje. Fierce fighting was still going on there.

I was told that if I wanted better things to shoot I should go to Crepulje, the section of Borovo Selo on the side of Borovo Naselje. But there was nothing at all in Crepulje. Only demolished houses.

Then I met a soldier in tears who said: "My God, how many children have been massacred in Borovo Naselje!" With Voja from the press center and several members of territorial defense, I set out for Borovo Naselje. However, newspapermen were already coming back from that direction and said it was not possible to get through.

We nevertheless decided to try to get in. We went across a field which had been mined. We had to run the last several meters.

We entered Borovo Naselje. The army did not allow pictures. We split up—I remained with Voja and one territorial defense soldier. We came upon a group of people; they were all saying that we must go to the school. But no one dared to guide us, because of the shooting from that direction. Thus, we "milled around" in the vicinity near the school. There were corpses in the streets. In bags.

It was about 1500 hours, and at 1700 I had to catch a bus for Belgrade. Then we met a soldier who told us that there were many corpses in one street. We arrived at that street. There was shooting, and we took shelter in the yard of a house, where I took some photographs of bodies that were shown on TV. However, the guns were popping around us there, too, and I ran, jumped two fences, and lay down. Then, in front of some demolished structure which everyone said was the school, I spotted those bags with small corpses. I was some 40 meters or so from them, and because there was constant shooting I twice managed to raise my head and look toward the bags—in all, I looked some five to six seconds.

The number 41 mentioned by everyone was not my "creation." But from what I saw, I think it is authentic.

Then I retreated. I returned to Belgrade by the bus at 1700 hours. I reached home about 2330 hours.

The next morning I went to REUTER and told what had happened. They sent out the report on the children who had been killed. A day later, in the morning, they called for me and asked me to explain everything in more detail. The bureau chief said that we are both in danger because of that report. (I do not know what danger he had in mind.) First, we talked, but my English is not the best, and a girl came who works there. She translated. I do not know what she said to me. I know that I did not say anything contrary to what I had told a day earlier, I just clarified it in more detail.

I said that the bodies in the bags were not adults, the corpses were small. He asked me if it was possible that there was some deception? I did not preclude that possibility.

Before those bags, I had seen at least 50 corpses in bags. But these bags were not the same; the corpses took up only one-third of the bag.

He asked me whether it was possible that something else was inside? I replied that it is theoretically possible that there was wood or stones inside, or "bloody dolls." I did not feel the bags to find out. But as a practical matter it is not very likely there was anything else inside.

He asked me how I knew that those were Serbian children? I said I never said that, I simply passed on what I had been told by the Serbian territorial defense soldiers; they are from that area and know about that, and they said that the bodies in the town were Serbs. Besides, the houses in Borovo Naselje in front of which I saw the rest of the corpses were marked: The writing on the gates said: "This is a Serbian house." To be sure, there were also corpses of Croats, but they had not been massacred.

(Incidentally, with respect to the massacred corpses shown on TV Belgrade, I was given the information by a local civilian. And it was clear even from the appearance of those who had been killed what kind of torture they had gone through.)

During the conversation, the REUTER bureau chief did not want to look at the pictures. He said: "Too much blood."

A team from the British television network ITN came into the REUTER bureau. They talked to me. They did not want to give me a translator. Somehow or other I got along with my English. And I told them that the bags did not contain adults. I repeated all the rest.

In any case, the REUTER correspondent, after the interview, did not mention any possible denial. When I reached home and learned about the denials, I was completely surprised and confused.

I also went to SKY NEWS. I made a statement. While I was talking, Mika Aleksic, cameraman of TV Belgrade, came into the room. He said he had not been able to take pictures, because the army had mistreated him. On Tuesday evening, he and an Italian newspaperwoman had seen those corpses (Aleksic denies this—editor's

note). At that time, the army already controlled that area. The Italian woman went off for lights so that all that could be filmed—and when she came back, the bodies were gone.

Now they are phoning me at home. Calling nonstop. When I lift the receiver—silence. One man spent two hours hanging around our house. I do not sleep at home. Perhaps there is nothing to it, but I am not indifferent.

Officer Discusses Vukovar Military Exploits

92BA0233B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 29 Nov 91 pp 18-19

[Unattributed article including interview with Major Veselin Sljivancanin; place and date not given: "The Hawk Hesitated"]

[Text] The muddy heap of baroque ruins that bears the name of Vukovar was once a city and, as was fitting, it had its own municipal museum housed in the castle of Count Elec. In recent months, this exceedingly beautiful ruin has served as an improvised outpatient clinic and support point for the National Guard Corps [ZNG]. Thought was even given to the exhibits: One of the rooms is filled to the top with carefully marked crates ready for an evacuation that obviously came late. On some of the walls which have remained intact, one can still see articles from the prehistoric period, which proved the continuity of settlement where the Vuka flows into the Danube.

Suspecting that Croatian Guards were still hiding in the museum basement, a group of Serbian volunteers descended into the darkness. They reappeared in half an hour, but from an unexpected direction—one branch of the underground corridor took them to a wine cellar at the other end of the street. In the catacombs, they found a radio transmitter and equipment for recording and processing data, rubber postal stamps, medical supplies....

While the volunteers, whose dress was varied and who were carrying all kinds of weapons, were cheerfully posing and singing, it was difficult to imagine them in the first line of combat. But that is where they have been since the very beginning. So that one can understand their sense of superiority over the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. "In all this time, I have seen only two officers in combat," says Zoran M[illegible]om Belgrade.

One of those two is Major Veselin Sljivancanin, chief of the security service of the "South" operational group.

The best-known officer on the Vukovar front is a Montenegrin roughly estimated to be about 195 cm tall. He was born in the vicinity of Zabljak, on the slopes of Durmitor, on 13 June 1953.

"That date is very important to me, because on 13 June, 10 years earlier, Sava Kovacevic was killed at Sutjeska. As a small boy, I listened to stories of his heroism in school, and I particularly liked the song 'Why Is the Sutjeska Roaring.' I decided on a military vocation, and after I graduated from the Military Academy, I was the youngest student to graduate in the 39th class of the command-staff school for tactics. I worked in the Guards on Topcider."

"They Could Not Win"

Maj. Sljivancanin took hard the failure of the JNA in Slovenia. He finds the causes in the fact that the Army was not prepared for a "war from within."

"If a state is disintegrating, it is difficult for the Army to survive in it. Yet the JNA has remained for a year now without a state behind it. I nevertheless think that the Army recovered quickly after Slovenia. The war in Croatia was a natural continuation of that in Slovenia, and we anticipated it. When the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] won the election, there were many disagreements, and there was a particular threat to the Serbian people."

The motorized Guard brigade in which Maj. Sljivancanin serves was involved in operations on the Slavonian front in mid-September. The first mission was to take the Brsadin grain elevator. The major, however, is reluctant to speak about that mission, because the media attributed it to other units. He mentioned for its curiosity only the behavior of his chauffeur, a sergeant in the regular Army who was later killed.

"I told him to stay by the vehicle and guard it. When we set off for the elevator, I heard someone warn me to take shelter, and I saw him. In answer to my question: 'Why aren't you where I told you to be?' he answered 'I cannot wait back there while you are here.'"

Several tens of thousands of shells and grenades of various calibers have fallen on the city (not to mention infantry weapons), but the entire operation was carried out with difficulty and slowly. Much has been said in public about the lack of willingness on the part of high-ranking officers to go where it is "hot." Maj. Sljivancanin, however, finds the causes of the slow advance in the concern for civilians, the concealment in cellars, and the effort to keep the casualties of the soldiers to a minimum:

"It is natural that officers of the JNA cannot plan operations and carry out assaults at the same time. I have in fact been explaining that to the soldiers when they have asked me why they have not seen higher-ranking officers alongside them. For me, the greatest time was when I took a rifle with a telescopic sight and joined my own men. I felt safer with them, but I could not be here all the time. At the same time, for a long time, at least a year, Croatia has been preparing for war at a time when we did not even think about that at all. They committed large forces at Vukovar, they were well-armed and fortified. Unfortunately, they did not realize that they could not win, that they caused the destruction of this beautiful city with their senseless resistance. Incidentally, nowhere

in the history of warfare has it been recorded that a city of this size, strongly fortified, has fallen in such a short time."

The War Against "Hawk"

Although he stresses the good cooperation with the volunteers and territorial defense of Vukovar (to which he gives particular recognition), Maj. Sljivancanin nevertheless feels that the Army played the principal role here. The greatest difficulty, he said, was the problem of coordination of all formations that were under the command of the JNA. He also feels that a great mistake was made when limitation of the tour of duty for reservists was limited to 45 days:

"That time is too short. We had to quickly train people and 'break them in.' We couldn't just send them into battle. After their training, they were counting the days to the end."

The subject of our interview has a wife and three children living in Belgrade. They have talked several times by phone:

"They have answered all my questions that they are fine and not to worry about them, but about myself. Here, however, I have been preoccupied with other things, and I have not managed to think about myself, but only about the lives of the soldiers and about taking Vukovar. After all, even the song goes: 'A real man is not afraid to die.'"

The most interesting details of the war in Vukovar are related to the "agreeable conversation" between Maj. Sljivancanin and Mile "Hawk" Dedakovic, commander of the Croatian Guards.

"I could hear them the whole time, and we talked once or twice a day. I called for him to surrender, I explained to him that they had no prospects whatsoever, I pointed out that it was insane to lead his people to death and destroy this beautiful city. He answered that I am a Chetnik commander and to go back to Serbia. He asked my name and rank, to which I responded: 'Sava Kovacevic, colonel.' Our conversations might be referred to as dignified if there had not been interjections: His people used curses and insults. Several times I asked for a meeting with him anywhere on the territory controlled by the JNA, guaranteeing him security and safe return regardless of the outcome of the negotiations. He did not consent. He did not allow the Red Cross convoy to enter Vukovar from Negoslavci, a village under our control, but insisted that it go back and come via Bogdanovci. That is where the convoy was stopped by a mine, their mine. Sometimes, though, I could sense hesitation in him and a readiness for negotiations, but at those points the others broke off the conversation with a flood of historical curses."

Was It Worth It?

The story continued:

"As the time passed, Hawk, whom we managed to identify (a former JNA officer who went to school in Mostar), slowly realized that he was losing. He was insulting: 'You live in the corn, you eat corn like hogs.' I replied: 'I belong to a people which ate beech bark in the last war, but survived and conquered a quite superior enemy. Come out of that cellar.' His people croaked in response: 'It is evident that you ate beech, and you yourself are a blockhead.' Communication became increasingly difficult, especially when his voice changed a few days before our victory. The hawk flew away, and a new person came that one could not talk to."

Maj. Sljivancanin's conflicts with the European Community observers and representatives of the Red Cross have been receiving the greatest attention from the media in the recent past:

"Although I insisted that the newsmen attend our conversations, the European observers wanted everything to be done behind closed doors. I consented to that, but not to their other conditions. I accepted representatives of the Red Cross as members of a humanitarian organization concerned about all people, which means my soldiers as well. However, they paid no attention to them, they were only interested in the other side. Because I had two people killed in the vicinity of the hospital, we went into the hospital, we found weapons and a group of Guards who, although completely healthy, attempted to get out of it that way. The Red Cross representative protested, he said that we had violated all the regulations. I told him: 'You are in my country, and you must respect its laws and my instructions. When I come to your country, be certain that I will comply with the regulations in effect there.' In my opinion, the task of the Red Cross is to care for the wounded and unfortunate, not to engage in politics."

The Army is slowly abandoning the phantom city. Some are returning to Belgrade and some perhaps are going on further. To Vinkovci or Osijek, no one knows.

The yard of a kindergarten has been turned into a cemetery: Some 15 freshly dug graves are marked with crossed boards. Several corpses have been left outside—there was no time for burial. Children's toys are scattered everywhere. Behind the old cemetery in Vukovar, right alongside the wall of the stadium of the "Sloga [Concord]" (?!) soccer club, there is a mass grave with several dozen coffins crudely knocked together. Across the road from the hospital, the houses and yards are overflowing with the dead. Serbs, Croats, probably also some of those 20 percent who declared themselves to be Yugoslavs in the last census. The cemetery is full of shell holes, a park in which every other tree is split down the middle. Dead people, dead trees, dead animals, dead buildings.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Roundtable Participants Discuss Republic's Future

LD0601230292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2111 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—Some 40 politicians and public workers of the previous, as well as present, leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina took part in tonight's roundtable discussion organized by the magazine SLOBODNA BOSNA.

The politicians of the previous leadership included Todo Kurtovic, Branko Mikulic, Hrvoje Istuk, Raif Dizdarevic, and others, while some of the leading personalities of the current leadership did not respond to the invitation.

The majority of roundtable participants expressed themselves in favor of a sovereign Bosnia and Hercegovina, while some of them, such as Dr. Mustafa Imamovic, even argued that Bosnia-Hercegovina was now facing the same situation as at the time of the dictatorship of 6 January. [King Aleksandar replaced the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes with the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on 6 January 1929.]

The appearance of former officials aroused considerable attention among the journalists.

Internal Affairs Minister Views Negotiations

92BA0286A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 91 p 28

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Alija Delimustafic by Lidija Soldo on 17 December; place not given: "I Will Negotiate Until Judgment Day"]

[Text] "My results are much more important than the nonsense about my being a KOS [Counterintelligence Service] agent. I have no time to concern myself with these and similar off-color stories. They are even accusing Gorbachev of being a CIA agent, so what is a person to do? I have still performed well."

The MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of Bosnia-Hercegovina has long experienced serious temptations. Interethnic friction, extremely tense relations between the ruling parties, and even conflict with the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] are ongoing possibilities....

Thus far, MUP chief Alija Delimustafic and his staff have managed to overcome these difficulties.

When one of the belligerent Montenegrin reservists recently turned up in eastern Hercegovina, halted Alija Delimustafic, and placed the barrel of his machine gun against the latter's body, thus demonstrating "who is in charge here," Delimustafic was not concerned, according to later reports. He introduced himself, and then asked the reservist whether he was a member of the JNA. The already shaken "bad guy" said that he was, adding, "Well, what of it...?" "Well, the JNA is my army too, responsible for protecting me, and not for assaulting me," Delimustafic responded.

Because of events in Hercegovina, currently in Mostar, the head of the Bosnian MUP is experiencing new, apparently more serious temptations.

The command of the RV [air force] and PVO [air defense] has directly accused the MUP of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or rather certain groups of officials at that ministry, of participating, in conjunction with the MUP of Croatia, in the abduction and torture of air force pilot Dragisa Stojcinovic.

Evidence presented leaves practically no doubt that some MUP officials were involved in this incident. It is also said that there will be major personnel changes in the Mostar police. Nevertheless, Mr. Delimustafic was diplomatically semispecific (on Tuesday, 17 December, when he spoke with NIN):

"The situation that has been tense for some time now, created by reflections of the war in Croatia and the indecent behavior of some JNA reservists, was made red-hot by the abduction of officer Stojcinovic and by the explosives planted under the property and cars of four prominent Croats from Mostar. As it has always done in the past, the security service of our ministry is making a maximum effort to expose the actors and circumstances of these disagreeable incidents. A specialized team of our people is working on exposing these events, and we will not cover up the results of their work at any cost, so that it has just been established that individual members of our ministry also participated in the abduction of the pilot."

[Soldo] Still, until that incident the police in BH [Bosnia-Hercegovina] was considered a service for all citizens. How do you interpret this popularity, Mr. Delimustafic?

[Delimustafic] First of all, I must say that this type of popularity is not very pleasing to me, nor, I am certain, to my deputy. Rather, because we are both policemen, it hampers us a little at the moment. However, the bitter truth is that these are difficult times, times of war and suffering, and that is the reason for a different approach in my work and that of my deputy. Indeed, I interpret public support as support for our orientation towards eliminating any ethnic and political connotations from our profession. Simply put, according to law everyone must be equal, regardless of the nation or party to which they belong. We are inexorable in this regard. I also feel that what we are doing to resolve concrete questions is very essential, and we are not making that into a grand philosophy. Every human being is important to us. People write to us about their loved ones who have disappeared, thanks to this whirlwind of war. We check it out, mediate between the army and the Republic of Croatia. I am happy whenever we succeed. Prisoners of war are not numbers, they are living people, someone's sons, husbands, fathers, brothers...

[Soldo] The MUP of BH is perhaps the only institution over which the three ruling parties have no direct influence. How do you personally manage to resist such pressure from your party, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action]? On the eve of the SDA congress, there were open reports coming from that party about a negative vote of confidence.

[Delimustafic] You know, that question can also be posed in this way: To what extent does someone want to serve "his own party"? If you work according to the dictates of the party, then your responsibility for failures is small. It is not your responsibility. But if you work according to your own conscience and intellect, then the situation is different. There are many sleepless nights and much reexamination of whether things have been handled properly. As far as the confidence of the SDA and its leadership in what I am doing is concerned, I think that the opinion that peace in the republic is the most valuable thing today has prevailed. Every day that passes in peace is an immeasurable gain for us. Calculations have been made about Bosnia-Hercegovina from the very outset. As you recall, it was said that war would break out a long time ago. But it hasn't. So I say: Why couldn't peace have broken out a long time ago? That is the most important goal of the activities of my staff and me. And I will devote all my energy to that.

[Soldo] Although a significant part of the citizenry regards it as an accomplishment that you have managed to calm the rather nervous relations between the republic and the JNA, some accuse you of working for the KOS.

[Delimustafic] On numerous occasions, I have publicly justified my talks with members of the security bodies in the JNA. The fact is that because of the nature of our work, we are oriented towards cooperation. I will respond in short: The results of these talks—meaning a peaceful Bosnia-Hercegovina—are much more important than the nonsense about my being a KOS agent. I have no time to concern myself with these and similar "off-color stories." They are even accusing Gorbachev of being a CIA agent, so what is a person to do? I have still performed well.

[Soldo] There is a deep-rooted opinion that you are Fikret Abdic's man, and that this very fact is the basis for your autonomy with regard to radical pressure from the SDA.

[Delimustafic] I would not say that I need any sort of special defense. I am protected by my work. Unfortunately, it is far removed from our understanding that someone could work with his own head and according to his own conscience. It is believed, again unfortunately, that autonomy is impossible. There must be someone standing behind everyone. I follow the principle that the best defense is openness in my work. Not doing anything behind the scenes. Thus far, I have on countless occasions convinced myself of the fact that this provides one with the best defense. If all the facts are presented, even when mistakes are made, the public is more willing to be forgiving. Ultimately, that is the basis of civil society, to which we aspire.

[Soldo] The MUP of BH only acknowledges that young people of Muslim nationality from BH are participating in the "Serbo-Croatian" war...

[Delimustafic] According to the figures at our disposal, a number of young people from our republic as well are participating in the Serbo-Croatian war, as you call it. These are not only young people of Muslim nationality, but also Croats, especially from western Hercegovina, and Serbs from Bosnian Krajina and eastern Hercegovina. Unfortunately, that is our reality. The only consolation is that for now, this is a small number of people.

[Soldo] We recently learned that the residents of Bistrik are not only well-armed, but also militarily organized. There are paramilitary formations in the cities, so that war by everyone against everyone else could easily become a Bosnia-Hercegovinan reality. The MUP of BH has promised the public that it will disarm these "defenseless people." Is this even possible, given the fact that they are backed by three national parties?

[Delimustafic] At government meetings, the MUP has already presented indicators of activities by paramilitary formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, their number, weaponry, and the areas where they are active. The public has been informed of this in a timely and conscientious fashion. In terms of disarmament, we have already achieved certain results, although still not enough. One encouraging sign is that the results that we are achieving in this regard (the latest being those from the Banja Luka region and talks about the capture of the group in Prnjavor) are the fruit of joint activities with JNA bodies. This is the best proof of the fact that cooperation with the army is not some sort of political game. The results of the common, mixed points along the most important traffic arteries in BH, with members of the SSUP [Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs] and the JNA in addition to the regular units of the MUP of BH, and which was initially characterized as the occupation of BH, have also refuted those who had doubts. This is a time of major ferment and rapid changes in values held until only recently. And we must all cope with these times. Why should we not help each other in this, through tact, understanding, and tolerance?

[Soldo] Who, what, and when should something be done to preserve peace in BH? The MUP of BH itself cannot preserve peace, at least not in the long run.

[Delimustafic] You know, it is much easier to disrupt something than it is to preserve it. That is also true of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is a very delicate job during these times and in these regions.

[Soldo] The affair of Avdo Hebib, your former assistant, who resigned, has elicited distrust among the public. The statement by Alija Izetbegovic has not satisfied curiosity. What is this really all about?

[Delimustafic] The Avdo Hebib affair would not be an affair if the work of the MUP were regarded objectively. What can I say? The replacement of certain personnel within the service does not mean at the same time an expression of a lack of confidence in or dissatisfaction with their work. On the contrary, in dividing up certain duties and obligations upon our arrival in power, we did not act in accordance with anyone's affinities and inclinations, so that we are now forced to carry out changes "as we go along." The job of assistant for police, which was performed by Mr. Avdo Hebib, is an operative one, requiring a great deal of prior experience. A new man has assumed that post, and Avdo has remained with us and is performing other duties. Thus, this is not a case of dismissal or of an "affair," but it does fit in well with some people's plans to turn this into a so-called affair.

[Soldo] There is more and more talk of terrorism in BH.

[Delimustafic] Lately in particular, Bosnia-Hercegovina has been confronted with all forms of terrorism—and unfortunately this will grow even worse in the future. We have already recorded 136 cases of explosives being planted on public and private property, in 34 opstinas. The properties chosen as terrorist targets are private homes, weekend cottages, stores, cars, and roads, bridges, etc. We have also documented 57 cases of false alarms concerning the planting of explosives. The Ministry is devoting special activity to exposing and disarming paramilitary formations, as was the case in Prnjavor and Podgradci, near Bosanska Gradiska, and measures are also being taken to disarm paramilitary formations in Nevesinje. A major problem for us are the deployed sabotage-terrorism groups like the one uncovered in Brcko. Unfortunately, further and more frequent attempts to deploy these groups can be expected. Bosnia-Hercegovina is also the subject of backroom dealings between various political parties, groups, and individuals, who are spreading propaganda and summoning the citizens to war. A striking example is the agitation by Vojislav Seselj in opstinas inhabited predominantly by Serbs.

[Soldo] The increase in crime can even sensed "with the naked eye"?

[Delimustafic] The enormous increase in crime, especially economic crime, over the past year is clearly one of the indirect causes, but also one of the consequences. Thus, for example, an increase in criminal acts of a general nature of 35 percent was recorded during the first nine months of this year compared to the same period last year, while the increase in criminal acts of an economic nature was as much as 60 percent.

[Soldo] The general money crunch in BH has apparently been a serious threat to the MUP as well?

[Delimustafic] The very poor state of material, personnel, and technology constitutes a particular problem. Members of the Ministry are very often in a situation where they expose their own lives and those of others to dangers, simply because of inadequate equipment. On the other hand, in some of the republic's opstinas, thanks to obstructions by victorious parties, especially the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], chiefs of public security stations have yet to be appointed. Around three months ago, based on a decision by the BH Presidency, we mobilized the reserve units of the police force. This proved to be a bull's-eye in terms of general insecurity, the creation of paramilitary formations, village guards... More than 28,000 people at a high level carried out all the tasks assigned to them without a single serious excess. However, we were forced to adopt a decision on economization and switching over to peacetime conditions, because for around three months the members of the reserve forces were not paid the personal income guaranteed by law, and aside from their legal rights, this was also promised to them upon mobilization. The BH government was unable to guarantee the funding for this purpose, and reluctantly we were forced to carry out economization measures in the police reserve structure.

Montenegro

Democratic Party Unwilling to Sign Convention

LD0601182892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The Democratic Party of Socialists [Demokratska Partija Socijalista], the ruling party in Montenegro, sent a delegation to the Belgrade meeting arranged in connection with the convention on a new Yugoslavia, but it did not sign the previously drafted final text, HINA reports. In a statement to BORBA, Milan Gajevic, member of the main committee of the Democratic Party of Socialists and participant in the Belgrade meeting, assesses this document as an attempt to create a new Yugoslavia from the top and, in his view and in the view of his party, a new Yugoslavia can only be created from below, by the republics and the people. The convention on Yugoslavia, therefore, [word indistinct] and violates this democratic principle, Gajevic stresses.

Asked why they sent a delegation to the convention on a new Yugoslavia, Svetozar Marovic, the secretary of the Democratic Party of Socialists, told the BORBA correspondent that it is their principle to take part in all discussions on Yugoslavia, but that this does not mean accepting everything that is discussed at these meetings.

Protocol With Russia Envisages $440 Million Trade

LD0701101192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0804 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, January 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro will this year deliver 100 million dollars' worth of construction machinery and consumer goods to Russia, the Montenegrin Chamber of Economy has said.

Under the recently agreed comodity lists, Montenegro will also deliver to Russia 400,000 tonnes of bauxite,

200,000 tonnes of alumina, chemical products and various machinery for food processing industry and household appliances.

The Russian partners will export to Montenegro 650,000 tonnes of liquid fuel, 5,000 cars, 40,000 tonnes of fertilizers, and 30,000 tonnes of ammonia, synthenic rubber and polyethylene.

Under a protocal on economic cooperation in 1992, Montenegro and Russia will exchange goods to the value of 440 million dollars, 220 million dollars each.

Macedonia

Government: Albanian Referendum 'Illegitimate'

LD0601221992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2156 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Skopje, Jan 6 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia assessed this evening as illegitimate the decisions according to which the leaderships of ethnic Albanians' political parties in Macedonia have announced a census and referendum on the political and territorial autonomy of the nationality in this republic.

The Macedonian Government maintains that these decisions are not a document which would oblige the Albanians in Macedonia to declare themselves about something which is contrary to constitutional and legal provisions, since the decisions were "reached" by an assembly of illegitimately elected representatives of the Albanian population.

The Macedonian Government maintains that all problems and different political views on certain questions should be resolved in the system's institutions and warns that other types of resolving them would bear immeasurable consequences upon peaceful co-existence in Macedonia.

As the Ministry of Information announced, the republican government appealed on leaders and members of Albanian parties, the Albanian intelligentsia and the Islamic religious community of Macedonia not to involve themselves in activities which could harm everyone in the republic and have negative effect on the situation in the Balkans.

The Macedonian Government is ready for a constructive dialogue on all open questions of equality of citizens of various nationalities, as was announced. Today's meeting between Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev and representatives of Albanian parties, who are to re-examine the reached decisions, was held in that context.